RUNIC AND HEROIC POEMS

OF THE OLD TEUTONIC PEOPLES

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edited by

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PREFACE

IN preparing this edition I have set before myself a threefold aim; in the first place, to supply a sound, conservative text with all the necessary apparatus, prolegomena, translation, bibliography and notes both critical and exegetical; in the second, to make use of the archæological method which Professor Ridgeway has applied so brilliantly to the study of the Homeric poems; and in the third, to emphasise the essential unity of the old Teutonic languages in 'matter' as in poetic diction. How far it has been accomplished I cannot say: I can at least plead with Marryat's nurse in *Mr Midshipman Easy* that my book is 'such a little one.'

It cannot be claimed that the Runic poems are of any great literary value; they are exactly parallel, indeed, to the old nursery rhyme:

> 'A was an Archer who shot at a frog;
> B was a Butcher who had a big dog'

But they are of certain interest to the student of social history and of supreme importance in the early history of the English language, a fact most unfortunately neglected in two of the most recent and otherwise the best of English historical grammars.

The Anglo-Saxon poem last appeared in England in 1840; the Norwegian is only available in Vigfússon and

Powell's *Icelandic Prose Reader* and *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*; the Icelandic has never before been published in this country.

The second part of this work contains the extant fragments of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry outside *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, which have been so admirably treated by Dr Chambers (Cambridge, 1912 and 1914). *Finn* has, indeed, been edited by Dr Chambers as an appendix to *Beowulf*; but my notes were already complete when *Beowulf* appeared, and as I differ from him on various points—so much the worse for me in all probability—I have ventured to include it. It has been a labour of love: for *Finn*, mutilated and corrupt, is yet the fine flower of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry. Full of rapid transitions and real poetic glow, the fight in Finn's beleaguered hall, lighted by the flash of swords and echoing with the din of combat, is one of the most vivid battle-pieces in any language—a theme too often worn threadbare by dull mechanical prentice-work in later Anglo-Saxon poetry, when versifying the scriptures became a devastating industry and the school of Cynewulf anticipated by some eight centuries the school of Boyd.

Waldhere has not been edited in English since the *editio princeps* of 1860, and Dr W. W. Lawrence's treatment of *Deor* is not very accessible in Volume IX. of the American journal *Modern Philology*.

The Old High German *Hildebrand* has never before been edited in English, and I must apologise to experts for my temerity. It is primarily intended for students of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse; but it may, I hope, be useful to neophytes in German too.

It is now my pleasant duty to thank my many friends in Cambridge. I have received encouragement and help of the

most substantial kind from the Master, President, Librarian and Fellows of my own College; from the Disney Professor of Archæology and the Schröder Professor of German; from Miss A. C. Paues, of Newnham College, Mr E. C. Quiggin, of Gonville and Caius College, and Mr E. H. Minns, of Pembroke College. My friends and fellow students, Miss N. Kershaw, of St Andrews, and Mr W. F. W. Mortlock, Scholar of Trinity College, have read part of the MS. From the staff of the University Library and of the University Press I have received unfailing courtesy, however much I have tested their patience. But most of all I have to thank Mr H. M. Chadwick, Bosworth and Elrington Professor of Anglo-Saxon, who has rescued me from countless pits which I had digged for myself. Anyone who has had the good fortune to work with him will appreciate my debt, no one else can estimate it. If this volume does anything to lighten the burdens which he has piled upon himself, I shall not feel that I have toiled in vain.

B. D.

25 Brunswick Square, W.C.
October 15th, 1915.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aarb. f. n. O. Aarbøger för nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Kjøbenhavn, 1866–.

Anglia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Halle, 1878–.

Archiv f. n. S. Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen. Braunschweig, 1846–.

Arkiv f. n. F. Arkiv för nordisk Filologi. Christiania, 1883–8; Lund, 1889–.

B. B. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik hrsg. v. M. Trautmann. Bonn, 1898–.

E. St. Englische Studien. Heilbronn, 1877–89; Leipzig, 1890–.

Germ. Germania, Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Altertumskunde. Stuttgart, 1856–8, Wien, 1859–1892.

M. G. H. Monumenta Germaniae Historica edidit G. H. Pertz; Scriptorum Tomi xxix. Hannoverae, 1826–.

M. L. N. Modern Language Notes. Baltimore, 1886–.

M. L. R. The Modern Language Review. Cambridge, 1906–.

Mod. Phil. Modern Philology. Chicago, 1903–.

P. B. B. Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur. Halle, 1874–.

P. G. (1), (2). Pauls Grundriss der Germanische Philologie. Strassburg, 1891–3, 1896–1909.

P. M. L. A. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Baltimore, 1889–.

Tidskrift. Tidskrift for Philologie og Pædagogik. Kjöbenhavn, 1860–.

Z. f. d. A. Haupts Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum. Leipzig, 1841–53, Berlin, 1856–.

Z. f. d. Ph. Zachers Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle, 1869–1908; Stuttgart, 1909–.

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Building the Runic rhyme, thy fancy roves
SOUTHEY

INTRODUCTION

THE RUNIC ALPHABET

The origin of the Runic alphabet, the native script of the Teutonic peoples, is still a matter of dispute. Isaac Taylor derived it from a Thracian Greek alphabet, Wimmer of Copenhagen from the Latin alphabet; but each of these theories is open to grave objections, and it is perhaps less dangerous to conclude with von Friesen of Upsala that it was taken from a mixture of the two. It is sufficient here to mention that it must have been known to all the Teutonic peoples and that the earliest records go back at least to the fourth century. It was certainly known by the Goths before their conversion; for Wulfila took several of its characters for his Gothic alphabet, and two inscriptions (Pietroassa in Wallachia and Kovel in Volhynia) have been found in lands occupied by the Goths in this period.

In its original form the Runic alphabet consisted of 24 letters, which from the absence of curved or horizontal lines were especially adapted for carving on wood. Testimony is borne by Venantius Fortunatus, whose lines

> *Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis*
> *Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet*

contain the earliest literary reference to the Runic character; by the Icelandic sagas and by the Anglo-Saxon poem known as the Husband's Message; but from the nature of the case the lance-shaft from Kragehul (Fyn) is almost a solitary

survivor of such inscriptions. The alphabet was divided into three sets later styled in Icelandic *Freys ætt*, *Hagals ætt*, *Týs ætt*, from their initial letters F, H, T. These names were understood as "Frey's family," etc.; but tripartite division certainly goes back to the original alphabet—it is found on the sixth century bracteate from Vadstena, Sweden—and it is more probable that *ætt* is derived from *átta*, "eight," and so originally meant "octave." Each letter, moreover, occupied a definite position; for in Codex Sangallensis 270 are to be found several varieties of Runic cypher—*Isruna*, *Lagoruna*, *Hahalruna*, *Stofruna*—the solution of which demands a knowledge of the exact position of each letter in the alphabet. Thus in the Latin *Corui*, the example given, the sixth letter of the first series is C, the eighth of the third O, the fifth of the first R, the second of the first U, the third of the second I[1]. A cypher similar in type to the *Hahalruna* of the St Gall MS., but adapted to the Scandinavian alphabet of the Viking Age, is to be found in the grave-chamber at Maeshowe (Orkney), and there are traces of similar characters, now for the most part illegible, in Hackness Church near Scarborough.

Among the earliest inscriptions from the North of Europe are those found in the bog-deposits of Nydam and Torsbjærg in Slesvig, Vi and Kragehul in Fyn, etc., which range in date from the third or fourth to the sixth century. They are written in a language which may be regarded as the common ancestor of English and Scandinavian; it still preserves the full inflections and is thus more primitive than the Gothic of Wulfila. The contemporary inscription from the Golden Horn of Gallehus (Jutland) may be quoted as an illustration, *Ek Hlewaȝastiz Holtingaz horna tawido.* (I Hlewagastiz Holtingaz made the horn.)

[1] These cryptograms are possibly to be attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda (822–856), who is known to have been interested in the Runic alphabet; cf. the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, p. 34 and his treatise *De Inventione Linguarum* (Migne CXII. 1582). *Coruus* is the Latin equivalent of Hraban (ON. *Hrafn*) and medieval scholars were fond of Latinizing their Teutonic names, e.g. Hrotsvith (*Clamor validus*), Aldhelm (*Vetus galea*).

To the same period belong a brooch found at Charnay in Burgundy, and probably also an inscribed spear-head from Müncheberg (Brandenburg), together with two or three smaller objects found in the north of Germany. In Germany, however, inscriptions of this character are quite rare and mostly unintelligible, the latest belonging probably to the eighth century.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the alphabet was introduced into England by the Saxon invaders in the fifth century, though the inscriptions dating from the first two centuries after the invasion are very few and fragmentary. Among them we may especially note those on a gold coin of unknown provenance in imitation of a *solidus* of Honorius and a scabbard-mount from Chessell Down in Wight. These are connected by the forms of the letters with inscribed objects from Kragehul and Lindholm (Skåne), which date in all probability from the early part of the sixth century, though the English inscriptions may be somewhat later. Runic legends also occur on a number of silver coins, some of them bearing the names *Æþil(i)ræd* (doubtless the Mercian king Aethelred, 675–704), or *Pada*, identified by some with Peada, brother of Aethelred, by others, and more probably, with his father Penda (d. 655). Runes are also found on a number of other small objects of metal or bone, the most interesting of which is the Franks Casket, generally believed to date from about 700.

The gradual disuse of the Runic alphabet is well illustrated by coins of the eighth and ninth centuries. The last king whose name appears in Runic characters is Beonna of East Anglia (c. 750), and even on this coin a Roman O is found. On coins of subsequent kings we only meet with an occasional Runic letter, usually L. In the names of moneyers, however, the Runic letters seem to have persisted somewhat longer; for there are a number of coins issued by Eanred of Northumbria (809–841?), on which two of his moneyers signed their names in Runic characters.

Of memorial stones there are in existence nearly a

score (principally in the North of England) bearing inscriptions in the English Runic character. The most notable of these are the elaborately carved crosses at Ruthwell (Dumfries)—with verses abridged from the *Dream of the Cross*—and Bewcastle (Cumberland), the grave slab with inscriptions both in Roman uncials and Runic characters from Falstone (Northumberland), and the three stones from Thornhill (Yorks.). Cf. Thornhill III. *Gilsuiþ arærde æfter Berhtsuiþe becun* on *bergi. Gebiddaþ þær saule.* (Gilswith erected to the memory of Berhtswith a monument on the tomb. Pray for her soul.) The earliest date probably from the seventh century; while the latest contain forms which point to about the middle of the ninth. There seems no reason, however, for supposing that for this purpose the English Runic alphabet remained longer in use than for coins. At all events there is no evidence that it survived the great Danish invasion of 866, which swept away the upper classes in the greater part of Northern England. After this time we find only MS. Runic alphabets, doubtless preserved as antiquarian curiosities, except for the letters *wyn* and *þorn*, which had been adopted into the Anglo-Saxon book-hand, and *eðel*, *dæg* and *man*, which were occasionally used as shorthand in the MSS.

From the sixth century, however, the alphabet had developed on totally different lines in Scandinavia and England. To the original 24 letters the English eventually added six, *æsc*, *ac*, *yr*, *ear*, *calc*, *gar*, if not a seventh *ior*. The Scandinavian alphabet, on the other hand, continually reduced the number of letters, until by the ninth century no more than sixteen were left. How incapable they were of representing the sounds of the language can be seen from the greater Jællinge stone set up by Harold Bluetooth, king of Denmark (c. 940–986):

Haraltr kunukR baþ kaurua kubl þansi aft Kurm faþur sin auk aft þąurui muþur sina, sa Haraltr ias sąr uan Tanmaurk ala auk Nuruiak auk Tani karþa kristną.

(King Harold ordered this monument to be made to the

memory of Gorm his father and Thyre his mother, that Harold who conquered all Denmark and Norway and christianised the Danes.)

From the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the alphabet was supplemented by the so-called "dotted runes" (*stunginn k, i, t, b = g, e, d, p*).

The later Runic alphabet was known in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, Man and England, in every part of the Scandinavian world; even in the South of Russia an inscription has been found. In Denmark there are something less than 200 inscriptions, few of which are later than 1150; in Sweden there are nearer 2000, some of which can scarcely be earlier than the fifteenth century. Scandinavian also in language and in character are the inscriptions from the Orkneys and Man. In England, too, there are a few relics of the Danish conquest, such as the sculptured stone in the library at St Paul's (c. 1030) and the *þorfastr* comb from Lincoln in the British Museum[1].

In Norway and Iceland, however, the Runic alphabet is never found on monumental stones of the Viking Age, though it was used commonly enough for other purposes. The later Norwegian inscriptions date from the period 1050–1350, the Icelandic are not earlier than the thirteenth century. Generally speaking we may say that the Runic alphabet, always connected more or less with magical practices, fell under the suspicion of witchcraft in the Scandinavian countries and perished in the great outburst of superstitious terror which followed the establishment of the reformed religion, though there is some little evidence to show that in Sweden it lingered on into the nineteenth century[2].

[1] The Bridekirk font (Cumberland) bears a twelfth century English inscrip- [illegible]

The Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem.

The Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem is taken from the Cottonian MS. Otho B x, which perished in the fire of 1731. It had, however, been printed by Hickes in his *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, I. 135 (London, 1705), from which the present text is derived. It consists of short stanzas, 29 in all, of two to five lines each, at the beginning of which stand the Runic characters described, preceded by their equivalents in ordinary script and followed by their names. It has been suggested, however, that in Otho B x, as in the Norwegian poems, the Runic characters alone were found, the names being added from some other MSS. At any rate Hempl, *Mod. Phil.* I. 135 ff., has shown that the variant runes, etc., were taken from Domitian A IX, and some such theory is needed to account for the frequent discrepancy between the stanzas and the names which they describe. This may be due in part to the lateness of the MS., which from linguistic criteria can scarcely have been earlier than the eleventh century, e.g. v. 37, *underwreþyd* for *-od* (*-ed*), and vv. 32, 91, *ðon*, *ðonn* for *ðonne*. The poem must, however, be far earlier, pre-Alfredian at least (with traces perhaps of an original from which the Scandinavian poems are likewise derived); for there is not a single occurrence of the definite article, *ðone* in v. 70 being demonstrative. The versification is moreover quite correct. Cf. Brandl, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*$_2$, II. 964.

The Norwegian Runic Poem.

The Norwegian Runic poem was first printed (in Runic characters) by Olaus Wormius, *Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, p. 105 (Amsterodamiae, 1636), from a law MS. in

litteras solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt, concealed about his person. These *litterae solutoriae* are doubtless to be compared with Hávamál, CL:

þat kannk et fjórþa ef mér fyrþar bera
bǫnd at boglimum
Svá ek gel at ek ganga má
sprettr af fǫtum fjǫturr
en af hǫndum haft.

the University Library at Copenhagen, which perished in the fire of 1728. This version was used by Vigfússon and Powell in their *Icelandic Prose Reader* (Oxford, 1879) and *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), where the textual difficulties are dealt with in a very arbitrary fashion.

The MSS. had, however, been copied later in the seventeenth century by Arni Magnússon and Jón Eggertson, whose transcripts, far more accurate than Worm's, exist at Copenhagen and Stockholm. It was on these that Kålund based his text in the first critical edition, *Småstykker* (København, 1884–91), pp. 1 ff., 100 ff., in which are incorporated valuable suggestions by Sophus Bugge and B. M. Ólsen. Kålund added the names of the Runic letters, but printed the texts in their original orthography. In this edition, however, it has been thought more satisfactory to adopt the normalised Old Norwegian spelling used in the German translation of Wimmer's great work, *Die Runenschrift*, pp. 273–80 (Berlin, 1887).

The poem, which has certain affinities to the Anglo-Saxon, is ascribed to a Norwegian author of the end of the thirteenth century; *ræið* and *rossom* alliterate, which would be impossible with the Icelandic forms *reið* and *hrossum*. It is composed in six-syllabled couplets, each of which contains two semi-detached statements of a gnomic character; the first line, which has two alliterating words, is connected by end-rhyme (except in the case of 15) and enjambement with the second which has none.

The Icelandic Runic Poem.

The Icelandic Runic Poem, which is supposed to date from the fifteenth century, is somewhat more elaborate than its Norwegian prototype. It consists of sixteen short stanzas dealing in succession with the letter names of the Scandinavian Runic alphabet. In each of these stanzas are contained three *kenningar*—the elaborate periphrases which bulked so large in the technique of the Icelandic skal poems. The first and second lines are connected

alliteration, the third has two alliterating syllables of its own.

The Icelandic Runic alphabet contained several more letters at this time; but only the sixteen current in the Viking Age are treated here. This is perhaps natural if the poem is derived from a much earlier original, though it does not seem that the later dotted U, K, I, T, B, introduced to represent O, G, E, D, P (with the possible exception of P, *plastr*), had names of their own. They were simply called *stunginn Íss, stunginn Týr*, etc.—dotted I, dotted T, etc.

The poem is taken from four MSS. in the Arnamagnaean Library at Copenhagen.

1. AM. 687, 4to, parchment of the fifteenth century and containing the Runic characters, but not the names.
2. AM. 461, 12mo, parchment of the sixteenth century, with names only.
3. AM. 749, 4to, paper of the seventeenth century, with names and letters in alphabetical order, followed by "dotted runes."
4. AM. 413, folio, pp. 130–5, 140 ff., from parchments of the sixteenth century copied in Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík's MS. *Runologia* (1732–52),
   (*a*) with names and letters in alphabetical order,
   (*b*) with names and letters in Runic order except that *lǫgr* precedes *maðr*.

Cf. Kålund, *Småstykker*, pp. 16 ff.; Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, pp. 281 ff.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON RUNIC POEM

1 Feoh byþ frofur fira gehwylcum;
sceal ðeah manna gehwylc miclun hyt dælan
gif he wile for drihtne domes hleotan.

4 Ur byþ anmod *ond* oferhyrned,
felafrecne deor, feohteþ mid hornum
mære morstapa; *þæt* is modig wuht.

7 Ðorn byþ ðearle scearp; ðegna gehwylcum
anfeng ys yfyl, ungemetum reþe
manna gehwylcum, ðe him mid resteð.

10 Os byþ ordfruma ælcre spræce,
wisdomes wraþu ond witena frofur
and eorla gehwam eadnys ond tohiht.

1. *Feoh.* Cf. AS. *fech*, Gothic *fe* from Salzburg Codex 140, a late copy of a Northumbrian text which there is some evidence for connecting with Alcuin. Cf. Chadwick, *Studies in Old English* (Camb. Phil. Soc. 1899, p. 117). Cf. Wimmer, *die Runenschrift*, p. 85.

4. *Ur* (Salz. AS. *ur*, Goth. *uraz*). Cf. ON. *úrr*, OHG. *urohso*; bos taurus primigenius, the aurochs or buffalo, the gigantic wild ox described by Caesar, *B.G.* VI. 28, as inhabiting the Hercynian forest:

Tertium est genus eorum qui uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas, neque homini neque ferae quam conspexerunt parcunt.... Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum differt.

It is to be distinguished from the bison (e.g. Seneca, *Phaedra*, v. 68;

Tibi dant variae pectora tigres,
Tibi villosi terga bisontes,
Latibus feri cornibus uri,

and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VIII. 15) with which it was confused in medieval Germany, cf. Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, XXII. 2.

"Its remains occur abundantly in the later Plistocene deposits of Britain, those from the brick-earths of Ilford, in Essex, being remarkable for their fine state of preservation and showing the enormous dimensions attained by this magnificent animal" (Lydekker, *Wild Oxen*, p. 11, London, 1898). In Western Europe, however, it was still found in the Middle Ages; in the sixth century it was hunted in the Vosges (Gregory of Tours, x. 10, Venantius Fortunatus, *Misc.* VII. 4. 19; cf. Nibelungenlied, str. 880), and doubtless in other thickly wooded regions, but was extinct by the end of the period. In Poland alone it persisted somewhat longer in the forest of Jakozowska (described and illustrated by von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*, Antwerp, 1557), where the last was killed in 1627. Cf. Lydekker, *The Ox and its Kindred*, pp. 37–67, pl. II. III. (London, 1912).

The horns of the aurochs, occasionally 6½ feet in length with a capacity of well nigh a gallon, were much prized as drinking vessels in medieval Europe, cf. Egilssaga, c. XLIV. 3, Saxo, Bk VI. (Holder, p. 168); and the poet, who is scarcely likely to have seen an aurochs in the flesh, may have used one brought to England from the continent.

F. (wealth) is a comfort to all men; yet must every man bestow it freely, if he wish to gain honour in the sight of the Lord.

U. (the aurochs) is proud and has great horns; it is a very savage beast and fights with its horns; a great ranger of the moors, it is a creature of mettle.

Þ. (the thorn) is exceedingly sharp, an evil thing for any knight to touch, uncommonly severe on all who sit among them.

O. (?) is the source of all language, a pillar of wisdom and a comfort to wise men, a blessing and a joy to every knight.

Hence *oferhyrned*, "with great horns," *ofer* being intensive as in vv. 29, 71, *oferceald*, *oferleof*.

7. *þorn*, so in all AS. Runic alphabets and in most of the OHG. ... lopted into ... last trace ... , a giant), ... with each

10. *Os* (Salzb. AS *os*) < **ansuz*, a god (cf Jordanes, c. XIII., *Goth* ... *pro-* ...

Uthin, and it is just possible that this stanza refers to some such episode as that described in *Gylfaginning*, c. IX.: *þá er þeir gengu með sævarströndu Borssynir* (Óðinn, Vili and Vé), *fundu þeir tré tvau ok tóku upp tréin ok* ...

13 Rad byþ on recyde rinca gehwylcum
sefte ond swiþhwæt, ðamðe sitteþ on ufan
meare mægenheardum ofer milpaþas.

16 Cen byþ cwicera gehwam, cuþ on fyre
blac ond beorhtlic, byrneþ oftust
ðær hi æþelingas inne restaþ.

19 Gyfu gumena byþ gleng and herenys,
wraþu *and* wyrþscype *and* wræcna gehwam
ar and ætwist, ðe byþ oþra leas.

22 Wenne bruceþ, ðe can weana lyt
sares and sorge and him sylfa hæfþ
blæd *and* blysse and eac byrga geniht.

25 Hægl byþ hwitust corna; hwyrft hit of heofones lyfte,
wealcaþ hit windes scura; weorþeþ hit to wætere
syððan.

27 Nyd byþ nearu on breostan; weorþeþ hi þeah oft
niþa bearnum
to helpe and to hæle gehwæþre, gif hi his
hlystaþ æror.

29 Is byþ oferceald, ungemetum slidor,
glisnaþ glæshluttur gimmum gelicust,
flor forste geworu*h*t, fæger ansyne.

22. Hickes, *wen ne.* 31. *geworulit.*

13. *Rad* (Salz. AS. *rada*, Goth. *reda*), as in other alphabets. It is most satisfactory on the whole to take *rad* as "riding," cf. *ræið*, *reið* of the Norwegian and Icelandic poems.

"Riding seems an easy thing to every warrior while he is indoors, and a very courageous thing to him who traverses the high-roads on the back of a stout horse," though it is doubtful whether *byþ* can mean "seems," and neither *hwæt* nor any of its compounds are used of things.

Professor Chadwick has, however, suggested to me that the proper name of this letter is *rada* of the Salzburg Codex, corresponding to the ON. *reiði*, "tackle (of a ship)," "harness," hence "equipment" generally. Here it would be used in a double sense, in the first half as "furniture" (cf. ON. *reiðustól*, "easy-chair," AS. *rædesceamu*), in the second as "harness."

16. *Cen* (Salzburg AS. *cen*, Goth. *chozma?*) found only as the name of the Runic letter C. Cf. OHG. *kien*, *kēn*; pinus, fax, taeda, "resinous pine-wood," hence "torch." Like the ON. K (*kaun*), it is descended from the K (<) of the earliest inscriptions. From the sixth century, at least, English and Scandinavian developed on independent lines, the point of divergence being marked by the lance-shaft from Kragehul (Fyn) and the snake from Lindholm (Skåne), which has the same intermediate form of K (ᛣ) as the earliest of English inscriptions, the SKANOMODU coin and the scabbard-mount from Chessell Down. But in AS. *c* and *g* became palatal before front vowels, and the original letters were used for this sound, new

R. (?) seems easy to every warrior while he is indoors and very courageous to him who traverses the high-roads on the back of a stout horse.

C. (the torch) is known to every living man by its pale, bright flame; it always burns where princes sit within.

G. (generosity) brings credit and honour, which support one's dignity; it furnishes help and subsistence to all broken men who are devoid of aught else.

W. (bliss) he enjoys who knows not suffering, sorrow nor anxiety, and has prosperity and happiness and a good enough house.

H. (hail) is the whitest of grain; it is whirled from the vault of heaven and is tossed about by gusts of wind and then it melts into water.

N. (trouble) is oppressive to the heart; yet often it proves a source of help and salvation to the children of men, to everyone who heeds it betimes.

I. (ice) is very cold and immeasurably slippery; it glistens as clear as glass and most like to gems; it is a floor wrought by the frost, fair to look upon.

characters, *calc* and *gar*, being invented to express the gutteral sounds. These later characters do not occur on the Thames scramasax or in any of the few inscriptions from the South of England, so it may be inferred that they were peculiar to Northumbria.

calc does not actually occur in Hickes, but is taken from Domit. A. ix. and Galba A. ii

19. *Gyfu* (Salzburg AS. *geofu*, Goth. *geuua*), *gumena*, abstract, "generosity."

[illegible]

25. [illegible] Cf. *Hagall* in the Norwegian and Icelandic poems. The first two Runic characters in Hickes are taken from Domit. A. ix., the third alone belongs to the poem; cf. Hempl, *Mod. Phil.* I. 13.

26. *wealcaþ hit windes scura*; if *scur* can be fem. as Goth. *skura* (windis), ON. *skúr*, *scura*, N. pl., may be retained, otherwise it must be emended to *scuras*.

27. *Nyd* (Salzb. AS. *nard*, Goth. *noics*?). Cf. Scandinavian poems and Elene, v. 1260: *N gefera nearusorge dreah enge rune.*

32 Ger byþ gumena hiht, ðon*ne* God læteþ,
halig heofones cyning, hrusan syllan
beorhte bleda beornum ond ðearfum.

35 Eoh byþ utan unsmeþe treow,
heard hrusan fæst, hyrde fyres,
wyrtrumun underwreþyd, wyn on eþle.

38 Peorð byþ symble plega and hlehter
wlancum [*on middum*], ðar wigan sittaþ
on beorsele bliþe ætsomne.

41 Eolh-secg eard hæfþ oftust on fenne
wexeð on wature, wundaþ grimme,
blode breneð beorna gehwylcne
ðe him ænigne onfeng gedeþ.

45 Sigel semannum symble biþ on hihte,
ðonne hi hine feriaþ ofer fisces beþ,
oþ hi brimhengest bringeþ to lande.

32. H. ðon. 37. H. *wynan on eþle.* 39. *on middum* supplied by Grein. 41. H. *eolhx seccard.*

32. *Ger* (Salz. OE. *gaer*, Goth. *gaar*)=summer.

Gear originally meant the warm part of the year (cf. Russian ярь, "spring-corn"), parallel to *winter*; this meaning is occasionally found in AS., e.g. Beowulf, v. 1134. Then both *gear* and *winter* were used for the whole year, though at a later time *winter* was restricted to its original significance.

In Scandinavian *ár* came to denote the "products of the summer," hence "plenty, abundance," e.g. *til árs ok friðar*, "for peace and plenty."

In the older alphabet the letter stood for J; but the initial *j*, falling together with palatal *g* in AS., is almost invariably represented by the *gyfu* letter in inscriptions. Cf., however, v. 87, *iar*.

35. *Eoh*: except in Runic alphabets this word is written *iw*, *se hearda iw* of Riddle LVI. 9; but cf. OHG. *iha* beside *iwa*. The original form may have been **ihwiz*. Hickes gives the value as *eo*, doubtless taken from Domit. A. IX. The value of the letter in the original alphabet is quite unknown; but the Salzburg Codex has *ih* with the values *i* and *h*, and this agrees with the only intelligible inscriptions in England in which the letter occurs, viz. Dover: *Gislheard* (value *i*); Ruthwell: *Almehttig* (value *h*); Thornhill II: *Eateinne* for *Eadþegne* (value *i*).

Eoh survived as *yogh*, *yok*, etc., the name of the ȝ letter in Middle English. Cf. A. C. Paues, *M. L. R.* VI. 441 ff.

38. *Peorð* (Salzb. AS. *peord*, Goth. *pertra*). P was a rare sound in the parent language. It is absent from the earliest Northern Inscriptions, and in the alphabet from the Vadstena bracteate is represented by B. The brooch from Charnay, Burgundy, has in this place a letter much resembling the *modern* W, and in England it is found only in MS. lists of runic characters and on coins (e.g. *Pada*, *Epa*), never in inscriptions.

Peorð is never found save as the name of the letter P, and no stress can be laid on any of the suggested meanings. Leo, *As. Glossar.* Halle, 1877,

J. (summer) is a joy to men, when God, the holy King of Heaven, suffers the earth to bring forth shining fruits for rich and poor alike.

Ï. (the yew) is a tree with rough bark, hard and fast in the earth, supported by its roots, a guardian of flame and a joy upon an estate.

P. (the chessman ?) is a source of recreation and amusement to the great, where warriors sit blithely together in the banqueting-hall.

Z. (the ?-sedge) is mostly to be found in a marsh; it grows in the water and makes a ghastly wound, covering with blood every warrior who touches it.

S. (the sun) is ever a joy to seafarers (or, in the hopes of seafarers) when they journey away over the fishes' bath, until the courser of the deep bears them to land.

compares Slav. *pizda*=vulva, W. Grimm the Icelandic *peð*, "a pawn in chess." This latter suggestion is not regarded with much favour by

...sedge grows in a marsh.

probably=*papyrus*.

Cf. Epinal-Erfurt 795

... with blood,
by a passage in W...
cross of the Lord

(frontispiece 2, 3) ... and Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*

48. *hine*, for *heonan*, hence, away; cf. Bede's Death Song, v. 1 *Ær his hiniongae*. For the intrans. use of *ferian*, cf. Maldon, v. 179, etc.

D. R. P.

48 Tir biþ tacna sum, healdeð trywa wel
wiþ æþelingas; a biþ on færylde
ofer nihta genipu, næfre swiceþ.

51 Beorc byþ bleda leas, bereþ efne swa ðeah
tanas butan tudder, biþ on telgum wlitig,
*h*eah on helme hrysted fægere,
geloden leafum, lyfte getenge.

55 Eh byþ for eorlum æþelinga wyn,
hors hofum wlanc, ðær him hæleþ ymb[e]
welege on wicgum wrixlaþ spræce
and biþ unstyllum æfre frofur.

59 Man byþ on myrgþe his magan leof:
sceal þeah anra gehwylc oðrum swican,
forðam drihten wyle dome sine
þæt earme flæsc eorþan betæcan.

63 Lagu byþ leodum langsum geþuht,
gif hi sculun neþan on nacan tealtum
and hi sæyþa swyþe bregaþ
and se brimhengest bridles ne gym[eð].

53. H. *þeah.* 56. H. *ymb.* 59. H. *deg* inserted above *man.*
60. H. *odrum.* 64. H. *neþun.* 66. H. *gym.*

48. *Tir* (Salzb. AS. *Ti.* Goth. *Tyz*).
There can be no doubt that the original name of this letter was *Ti* (*Tiw*) from **Tiwaz*, cf. ON. *Týr*, pl. *tivar*. This word appears in glosses, e.g. Epinal-Erfurt, 663, Corpus, 1293, *Mars, Martis: Tiig,* and most of the Teutonic peoples use it as a translation of *Martis*, in the third day of the week. It is natural therefore to suppose that *Tir* is a misreading for *Tiw*. If *tacna sum*=star, one would expect it to be the planet Mars ♂; but the description of the poem is appropriate rather to "a circumpolar constellation" (Botkine). Possibly the poet had in his mind a word different from the original name of the letter.

Cf. ON. *týri* (?): *lumen* (Egilsson, *Lexicon Poet.* s.v.). E.g. Leiðarvísan, v. 14, *harri heims týriss*; "King of the light of the world."

51. *Beorc* (Salz. AS. *berc*, Goth. *bercna*; cf. ON. *bjarkan*). The customary meaning "birch" is here unsuitable; but according to the glossaries it can mean "poplar" too,

e.g. Epinal-Erfurt, 792, *populus : birciae.*
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Anecdota Oxon., 56, 364, 365, *byric : populus, betula.*

byþ bleda leas. Doubless popular science. Cf. Evelyn, *Silva* (London, 1908), I. 128: "I begin the second class with the poplar, of which there are several kinds; white, black, etc., which in Candy 'tis reported bears seeds." It is a fact, however, that poplars are almost always grown from slips or suckers. For instance, Mr H. J. Elwes declares that he has never found in England a poplar grown from seed either naturally or by nurserymen, that

T. (?) is a (guiding) star; well does it keep faith with princes; it is ever on its course over the mists of night and never fails.

B. (the poplar) bears no fruit; yet without seed it brings forth suckers, for it is generated from its leaves. Splendid are its branches and gloriously adorned its lofty crown which reaches to the skies.

E. (the horse) is a joy to princes in the presence of warriors, a steed in the pride of its hoofs, when rich men on horseback bandy words about it; and it is ever a source of comfort to the restless.

M. the joyous (man) is dear to his kinsmen; yet every man is doomed to fail his fellow, since the Lord by his decree will commit the vile carrion to the earth.

L. (the ocean) seems interminable to men, if they venture on the rolling bark and the waves of the sea terrify them and the courser of the deep heed not its bridle.

moreover no good description or illustration of the germination of poplars seems to have been published in England before that of Miss F. Woolward in 1907; cf. Elwes and Henry, *The Trees of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. VII. pp. 1770 ff (Edinburgh, 1913).

The grey poplar (*populus canescens*), indigenous to England and Western Europe, is a large tree attaining 100 ft or more in height (*lyfte getenge*) and 15 ft in girth.

[illegible] Cf. Gothic *aihwatundi*, Lat. *equus*, [illegible]

[illegible]

Lagu, Goth *laaz*)

The same meaning is found in the Runic passages of Cynewulf, *Crist*, v. 807, *Elene*, v 1268, *Fates of the Apostles*, II. v. 7.

66 *ne gym[eð]*. Hickes, *negym*, the last two letters being doubtless illegible in the MS

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moreover no good description or illustration of the germination of poplars seems [illegible]

[illegible] is given.

[illegible]

[illegible] Cf. v. 74, *Dæg*.

The Runic character for M is used fairly often in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Rituale of Durham, once too in the preface to the Rushworth Gospels, *FarM* for *Farman* (e g *Surtees Society*, Stevenson, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, 1840; Stevenson and Waring [illegible]

[illegible]

66. *ne gym[eð]*. Hickes, *negym*, the last two letters being doubtless illegible in the MS.

67 Ing wæs ærest mid East-Denum
gesewen secgun, oþ he siððan est
ofer wæg gewat; wæn æfter ran;
ðus Heardingas ðone hæle nemdun.

71 Eþel byþ oferleof æghwylcum men,
gif he mot ðær rihtes and gerysena on
brucan on bol*d*e bleadum oftast.

74 Dæg byþ drihtnes sond, deore mannum,
mære metodes leoht, myrgþ and tohiht
eadgum and earmum, eallum brice.

77 Ac byþ on eorþan elda bearnum
flæsces fodor, fereþ gelome
ofer ganotes bæþ; garsecg fandaþ
hwæþer ac hæbbe æþele treowe.

73. H. *blode.* 74. H. *mann* inserted above *dæg.*

67. *Ing* (Salzb. AS. *Ing*, Goth. *Enguz*), the letter for *ng* in the original alphabet; occasionally it is used for *ing*, e.g. *Birȝngu* on the stone from Opedal, Norway; Ing is doubtless the eponym of the Ingwine, a name applied to the Danes in Beowulf, vv. 1044, 1319, where Hrothgar is styled *eodor Ingwina*, *frean Ingwina*.

The earliest reference to Ing is to be found in the Ingaevones of Tacitus, c. II., and Pliny, whom Professor Chadwick (*Origin of the English Nation*, pp. 207 ff.) has shown there is some reason for identifying with the confederation of Baltic tribes who worshipped Nerthus, *id est Terra Mater*, on an island in the ocean, perhaps the Danish isle of Sjælland. But in later times the name is almost exclusively confined to Sweden; e.g. Arngrim Jónsson's epitome of the Skiöldunga saga (Olrik, *Aarb. f. n. O.*, 1894, p. 105): *tradunt Odinum...Daniam...Scioldo, Sveciam Ingoni filiis assignasse. Atque inde a Scioldo, quos hodie Danos, olim Skiolldunga fuisse appellatos; ut et Svecos ab Ingoni Inglinga.* In Icelandic literature, e.g. the Ynglinga saga, the name Ynglingar is applied to the Swedish royal family, and the god Frey, their favourite divinity and reputed ancestor, is himself styled Yngvi-Freyr and Ingunar freyr (the lord of the prosperity of the Ingwine or the husband of Ingun). It is significant, moreover, that the name of his father Njǫrðr is phonetically equivalent to Nerthus, and his own cult as a god of peace and prosperity is evidently descended from that of the selfsame goddess (cf. Chadwick, *O. E. N.* p. 230 ff.).

69. *wǣn æfter ran*, doubtless to be connected with the following passages, Tacitus, *Germania*, c. XL.: *They have a common worship of Nerthus, that is Mother Earth, and believe that she intervenes in human affairs and visits the nations in her car*, etc., and the story of Gunnarr Helmingr in the Flateyjarbók Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, which relates that there was in Sweden an image of the god Freyr, which in winter time was carried about the country in a car, *gera mǫnnum árbót*, to bring about an abundant season for men; cf. Vigfússon and Unger, *Flateyjarbók*, I. 338, translated in Sephton's *Saga of K. Olaf Tryggvason*, p. 258 ff.

70. *Heardingas*, not elsewhere in AS., perhaps a generic term for "warriors" as in Elene, vv. 25, 130. It corresponds however to the ON. *Haddingjar* and the *Asdingi*, a section of the Vandals (from *haddr*, "a

NG. (Ing) was first seen by men among the East-Danes, till, followed by his car, he departed eastwards over the waves. So the Heardingas named the hero.

Œ. (an estate) is very dear to every man, if he can enjoy there in his house whatever is right and proper in constant prosperity.

D. (day), the glorious light of the Creator, is sent by the Lord; it is beloved of men, a source of hope and happiness to rich and poor, and of service to all.

A. (the oak) fattens the flesh (of swine) for the children of men. Often it traverses the gannet's bath, and the ocean proves whether the oak keeps faith in honourable fashion.

coiffure"; cf. Tacitus' account of the [illegible]

[illegible] satisfactory to regard *Heardingas* as the name of a people or a dynasty, conceivably the North Suevi; for Saxo, at any rate, derives fictitious personages from national or dynastic names, cf. *Hothbroddus*, Bk II. (Holder, p. 52), and the *Heaðobeardan* of Beowulf, vv. 2032 ff.

73 [illegible]

74 *Dæg* (Salz. AS. *daeg*, Goth. *daaz*). Hickes, following the ignorant scribe of Dom. A. IX., inserts *m*, *mann*, above the correct value *d*.

The Runic letter D is regularly found as a grammalogue for *dæg* in the Rituale of Durham, occasionally too in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

77 [illegible]

For the second part of the stanza, cf. Egill Skallagrímsson's *Höfuðlausn*, str. I, "*Drók eik á flot við ísabrot*" (Eglissaga, c. LX.).

81 Æsc biþ oferheah, eldum dyre
stiþ on staþule, stede rihte hylt,
ðeah him feohtan on firas monige.

84 Yr byþ æþelinga *and* eorla gehwæs
wyn and wyrþmynd, byþ on wicge fæger,
fæstlic on færelde, fyrdgeatewa sum.

87 Iar byþ eafi*x* and ðeah a bruceþ
fodres on foldan, hafaþ fægerne eard
wætre beworpen, ðær he wynnum leofaþ.

90 Ear byþ egle eorla gehwylcun,
ðonn[e] fæstlice flæsc onginneþ,
hraw colian, hrusan ceosan
blac to gebeddan; bleda gedreosaþ,
wynna gewitaþ, wera geswicaþ.

86. H. *fyrdgeacewa.* 87. H. *eafixa.* 88. H. *onfaldan.*
91. *ðonn.* At the end of Hickes' transcript there stand four runes to which no verses are attached, *cw, cweorð; c* [*calc*]; *st, stan; g, gar.* Two of these Runic letters, *calc* and *gar*, are found on the Ruthwell Cross in the value of guttural c and *g*.

81. *Æsc*, identical in form with A (**ansuz*), the fourth letter of the older alphabet, since in the majority of cases original *a* became *æ* in AS.

84. *Yr* (Salzb. *yr*). The Runic passages in Cynewulf give no assistance and the meaning is much disputed. The new edition of Grein's *Sprachschatz* translates "horn," I know not upon what evidence unless it be the parallel phraseology of Riddle xv. Others have identified it with the ON. *ýr*, "bow," cf. p. 32; but this corresponds to AS. *eoh*, p. 16. Is it possible to connect AS. *yr* with the word *æxe-yre* in the Chronicle 1012 E, translated by Plummer "axe-head," "axe-iron"? We might compare *Ýr er...brotgjarnt jarn* in the Icelandic poem, p. 32.

87. Hickes, *Iar* (*io*) *bið ea fixa, and ðeah abruceþ.* Following Dom. A. IX. and Galba A. II., W. Grimm emends to *Ior.*

As it stands *eafixa* is a Gen. pl. with nothing on which to depend, and the addition of *sum* (Grein) would render the verse unmetrical. The final *a* of *eafixa* should therefore be deleted (Rieger).

abruceþ Grimm. *a bruceþ*, "always enjoys."

This letter is not in the Salzburg Codex.

No such word as *iar, ior* exists; but the description here given is plainly that of some amphibious creature, usually taken as the eel (Grimm), though it might equally well be a lizard or newt (*aðexe, efete*).

It is worth remarking that the letter is used in a number of Scandinavian inscriptions from the seventh century onwards, e.g. Bjorketorp, Stentofte, Gommor (Blekinge) and Vatn (Norway), seventh cent.; Kallerup, Snoldelev, Flemlöse (Denmark) and Örja (Skaane), early ninth cent., as a form of the letter *ár* (*a*). The original value of this was *j*; moreover it occurs in two English inscriptions: Dover, GISLHEARD; Thornhill III, GILSUITH, with the value of palatal *g*, since palatal *g* and original *j* had fallen together at an early date in AS.

Æ. (the ash) is exceedingly high and precious to men. With its sturdy trunk it offers a stubborn resistance, though attacked by many a man.

Y. (?) is a source of joy and honour to every prince and knight; it looks well on a horse and is a reliable equipment for a journey.

IO. (?) is a river fish and yet it always feeds on land; it has a fair abode encompassed by water, where it lives in happiness.

EA. (the grave ?) is horrible to every knight, when the corpse quickly begins to cool and is laid in the bosom of the dark earth. Prosperity declines, happiness passes away and covenants are broken.

[illegible]

e g. eel, newt.

90 *Ear* (Salzb. *eor*, value *eo*); this word is only found in Runic alphabets. Grein compares ON. *aurr*, a poetical word which seems to mean loam or clay (cf Vǫluspá xix. 2, Alvíssmál xix. 4, Rígsþula x. 3, [illegible]

fact that these diphthongs were confused in Northumbria.

THE NORWEGIAN RUNIC POEM

1 Fé vældr frænda róge;
 føðesk ulfr í skóge.

2 Úr er af illu jarne;
 opt løypr ræinn á hjarne.

3 þurs vældr kvinna kvillu;
 kátr værðr fár af illu.

4 Óss er flæstra færða
 fǫr; en skalpr er sværða.

5 Ræið kveða rossom væsta;
 Reginn sló sværðet bæzta.

6 Kaun er barna bǫlvan;
 bǫl gǫrver nán fǫlvan.

7 Hagall er kaldastr korna;
 Kristr skóp hæimenn forna.

1. *Fé*. The Runic characters for F and M are used in Icelandic MSS. for *fé* and *maðr*; cf. Jónsson, *Oldnorske Litteraturs Historie* II. 254. *frænda róge*, a kenning for gold; cf. *rógi Niflunga*, Bjarkamál, v. 19, etc.

føðesk ulfr í skóge. Cf. Cott. Gnomic Verses, v. 11: *wulf sceal on bearowe*.

2. *Úr*. Cf. Jón Olafsson, *Runologia* (Add. 8 fol. p. 141): *Sunnlendingar kalla smidiu uur, þat Nordlingar smidiu giall*, "people in the S. of Iceland call *úr* what the Northerners call slag, the refuse from a smith's furnace." This is supported by a passage in the þáttr af Gull-Ásu-þorði, c. VI. (ed. Jónsson, XL. *Islendinga þættir*, p. 83, Reykjavik, 1904), *Úrt járn, kvað kerlingr, ok atti kneif deigan*. [*Småstykker*, p. 100, cf. pp. 106, 112.]

3. *þurs*. As against the AS. *þorn* (found twice in the grammatical treatises attached to the Prose Edda, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* II. 38, 365), all Scandinavian Runic alphabets have *þurs*, the first element in such personal names as the Gothic Thorismund and the Gepide Thurisind; the earliest form of this word is the *thuris* of Hrabanus Maurus' *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, see p. 34.

kvinna kvillu, *kvilla*=*kvilli*, sickness, ailment, freq. in mod. usage (Cleasby-Vigfússon). In their *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* II. 370, Vigfússon and Powell translate the phrase "hysterics," perhaps on the strength of Skirnismál XXXVII.:

þurs rístk þér ok þria stafi:
 ergi ok øþi ok óþola;
svá af rístk sem þat á reistk,
 ef gørvask þarfar þess.

4. *Óss*, orig. < **Ansuz*, like the AS. *os*, perhaps perverted from its original significance by ecclesiastical influence in Norway as in England.

The text requires some emendation; Worm's *Oys er flestra ferda, En skalpur er sverda* has obviously lost a syllable; and Magnússon's *Óss er læid flestra færda, En skalper er sværda*, though translateable, is unmetrical.

THE NORWEGIAN RUNIC POEM

1 Wealth is a source of discord among kinsmen;
the wolf lives in the forest.

2 Dross comes from bad iron;
the reindeer often races over the frozen snow.

3 *Giant* causes anguish to women;
misfortune makes few men cheerful.

4 Estuary is the way of most journeys;
but a scabbard is of swords.

5 Riding is said to be the worst thing for horses;
Reginn forged the finest sword.

6 Ulcer is fatal to children;
death makes a corpse pale.

7 Hail is the coldest of grain;
Christ created the world of old.

[illegible]

Kaun er barna bǫlvan, "An ulcer is fatal to children;
bǫl gørver man fǫlvan death makes a man pale."

[Småstykker, p. 101.] But while accepting the emendation of the first line, I do not think it necessary to alter the MS reading of the second.

7. *kaldastr korna.* Cf. AS. poem, v. 25, *Hægl byþ hwitust corna* and Seafarer, v. 33 [illegible]

Kristr. [illegible]

c. 11.: *Ilve* [illegible]

jarðar, etc

8 Nauðr gerer næppa koste;
nǫktan kælr í froste.

9 Ís kǫllum brú bræiða;
blindan þarf at læiða.

10 Ár er gumna góðe;
get ek at ǫrr var Fróðe.

11 Sól er landa ljóme;
lúti ek helgum dóme.

12 Týr er æinendr ása;
opt værðr smiðr blása.

13 Bjarkan er laufgrønstr líma;
Loki bar flærða tíma.

14 Maðr er moldar auki;
mikil er græip á hauki.

15 Lǫgr er, fællr ór fjalle
foss; en gull ero nosser.

16 Ýr er vetrgrønstr viða;
vænt er, er brennr, at sviða.

8. *Nauðr.* For use of the letter in magic, cf. Sigrdrifumál VII.:

Ölrunar skalt kunna ef þu vill annars kvæn
vélit þik í trygþ, ef trúir;
á horni skalt rista ok á handa baki
ok merkja á nagli Nauþ.

9. *Ís kǫllum brú bræiða.* Cf. Exeter Gnomic Verses, v. 72 ff.:

Forst sceal freosan...is brycgian,
wæterhelm wegan,

and Andreas, v. 1260 ff.

10. *Ár*, descended, like the AS. *gear*, from the old *j* letter (**jāra*). It means (1) year, (2) summer, cf. *gear* in Beowulf, v. 1136, (3) what summer brings, harvest, (4) prosperity, especially in the phrase *til árs ok friðar*, for peace and prosperity.

Fróðe, Friðleifsson (Frotho III of Saxo, Bk v.), the peace-king of Danish legend who is made a contemporary of Augustus. So great was the security in his days that a gold ring lay out for many years on Jællinge Heath. Fróði owned the quern *Grotti*, which ground for him gold or whatsoever else he wished; hence gold is called by the skaldic poets *Fróða mjöl*, "Froði's meal." Cf. Skaldsk. c. XLII.; Skjöldunga saga c. III. [Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 257 ff.]

12. *Týr*, originally "the god," cf. Lat. *divus*; the pl. *Tivar* is used as a generic name for the gods in the Older Edda. In the Prose Edda (Gylf c. XXV.) he is the god of war, but most of his functions have been usurped by Othin and he is a character of small importance in Scandinavian religion as it has come down to us.

8 Constraint gives scant choice;
a naked man is chilled by the frost.

9 Ice we call the broad bridge;
the blind man must be led.

10 Plenty is a boon to men;
I say that Frothi was generous.

11 Sun is the light of the world;
I bow to the divine decree.

12 Tyr is a one-handed god;
often has the smith to blow.

13 Birch has the greenest leaves of any shrub;
Loki was fortunate in his deceit.

14 Man is an augmentation of the dust;
great is the claw of the hawk.

15 A waterfall is a River which falls from a mountain-side;
but ornaments are of gold.

16 Yew is the greenest of trees in winter;
it is wont to crackle when it burns.

æinendr, because he offered his right hand as a pledge to the *Fenrisulfr*, who promptly bit it off when he found himself securely bound with the fetter Gleipnir (Gylf c. xxxiv.). Cf. Sigrdrifumál vi:

Sigrúnar skalt kunna, ef vill sigr hafa,
ok rísti á hjalti hjgrs,
sumar á véttrimum, sumar á valbgstum
ok nefna tysvar Tý

13. *Bjarkan* (=*björk*, birch), found only as the name of the letter B in the Runic alphabet

Loki bar flærða tíma is not perhaps very satisfactory; it will translate, [illegible]

Gylf. c. xlix.

14. *Maðr er moldar auki.* Cf Hervarar saga c. v. 3:

Mjök eruð orðnir Arngrims synir
megir at meinsamir moldar auki,

probably from Psalm cii. 14.

15. Construe; *foss er lggr fællr ór fjalle.* [illegible]

is inverted.

THE ICELANDIC RUNIC POEM

1 Fé er frænda róg
ok flæðar viti
ok grafseiðs gata
aurum fylkir.

2 Úr er skýja grátr
ok skára þverrir
ok hirðis hatr.
umbre vísi.

3 Þurs er kvenna kvöl
ok kletta búi
ok varðrúnar verr.
Saturnus þengill.

4 Óss er aldingautr
ok ásgarðs jǫfurr,
ok valhallar vísi.
Jupiter oddviti.

5 Reið er sitjandi sæla
ok snúðig ferð
ok jórs erfiði.
iter ræsir.

6 Kaun er barna böl
ok bardag*a* [för]
ok holdfúa hús
flagella konungr.

1. *flæðar viti*, AM. 687; *fyrða gaman*, 461, 749, JO *b*; *Fofnis bani*, JO *a*. Cf. Þorðar saga Hræða c. VI., *viti leifnis lautar; ignis maris* (Egilsson).

grafseiðs gata, lit. "path of the grave-fish" (*seiðr: pisciculus*, Egilsson), a kenning for gold from the connection of dragons and other serpents with graves containing treasure. Cf. Bjarkamál, v. 19, *Grafvitnis dúnn*; Harmsól, v. 44, *dælar seiðs dunn.*

aurum, etc. (from 687), more or less accurate equivalents in Latin of the letter names.

fylkir, etc. (from 687), a series of synonyms for "king," each of which alliterates with the stanza to which it is attached; with the exception of *oddviti* they are to be found in the *þulor* (rhymed glossaries) printed in *C.P.B.* II. 422 ff.

2. *skýja grátr.* Cf. Ragnars saga Loðbrókar, c. XXI. (*FAS.* I. 224),
nu skýtr á mik skýja grátr.

7 Hagall er kaldakorn
ok krapadrífa
ok snáka sótt
grando hildingr.

8 Nauð er þýjar þrá
ok þungr kostr
ok vássamlig verk.
opera niflúngr.

9 Íss er árbörkr
ok unnar þak
ok feigra manna fár
glacies jöfurr.

10 Ár er gumna góði
ok gott sumar
ok algróinn akr
annus allvaldr.

11 Sól er skýja skjöldr
ok skínandi röðull
ok ísa aldrtregi
rota siklingr.

12 Týr er einhendr áss
ok ulfs leifar
ok hofa hilmir
Mars tiggi.

13 Bjarkan er laufgat lim
ok lítit tré
ok ungsamligr viðr
abies buðlungr.

7. *snáka sótt*, sickness of serpents, a kenning for winter. (
deyði in Ívarr Ingimundarson, *C. P. B.* II. 264.
8. Cf. Grottasǫngr, especially strophe XVI. :

Nu erum komnar til konungs húsa
miskunnlausar ok at mani ha
aurr etr iljar, en ofan kulþi,
drǫgum dolgs sjǫtul; daprt's

þrá, aegritudo animi, maeror (Haldorsen).
þungr kostr, 749, JO. *þvera erfiði*, 461, illegibl
9. *árbörkr*, illegible in 687.

7 Hail = cold grain
and shower of sleet
and sickness of serpents.

8 Constraint = grief of the bond-maid
and state of oppression
and toilsome work.

9 Ice = bark of rivers
and roof of the wave
and destruction of the doomed.

10 Plenty = boon to men
and good summer
and thriving crops.

11 Sun = shield of the clouds
and shining ray
and destroyer of ice.

12 Tyr = god with one hand
and leavings of the wolf
and prince of temples.

13 Birch = leafy twig
and little tree
and fresh young shrub.

unnar þak, 461, 749, JO *b*. doubtful in 687; *unnar þekja*, JO *a*. Cf. Grettis saga, c. LII., *í marþaks miðjum firði* (in the midst of Isafjörðr, Icefirth).

[illegible] 461; *feigs* [illegible] use of this [illegible] *lan hittisk* [illegible] has *dala* [illegible], "river" (Wimmer).

11. *skýja skjöldr*. Cf. Þórsdrápa, v. 13, *himintarga* (*C. P. B.* II. 19). 743 and JO have, in place of *ísa aldrtregi*, *hverfandi hvél*, "circling wheel," cf *rota*.

12 *hofa hilmir*. Cf Haraldssaga Hárfagra, c. IX. 1 *hilmir vébrautar*-praeses fani, rex (Egilsson).

13 *ungsamligr*. Bugge reads *vegsamligr*, "glorious," in place of *ungsamligr*, which is not found either in old or modern Icelandic (*Smaastykker*), p. 112.

14 Maðr er manns gaman
ok moldar auki
ok skipa skreytir
homo mildingr.

15 Lögr er vellanda vatn
ok víðr ketill
ok glömmungr grund.
lacus lofðungr.

16 Ýr er bendr bogi
ok brotgjarnt járn
ok fífu fárbauti
arcus ynglingr.

14. *Maðr er manns gaman.* This phrase occurs also in Hávamál XLVII., whence it is doubtless borrowed.

skipa skreytir. Cf. *Fornmanna sǫgur* XI. 187. *skautreina skreytir: exornator navium* (Egilsson).

15. *vellanda vatn*, 687; all other texts have *vellandi vimr* (i.e. *vimur*), "hervorquellende flut." Cf. the Norwegian poem (Wimmer).

glömmungr, name of a fish in the *þulor*, *Snorra Edda*, p. 286.

16. *Ýr.* The character found here is regularly used for Y in the Icelandic inscriptions, none of which are much earlier than 1300. Cf. Kålund, *Aarb. f. n. O.* 1882, p. 98 ff.

brotgjarnt járn = *ýr*, a different word from *ýr*, bow. Cf. *úr* of the Norwegian poem, *kaldyr* of Merlínusspá and *kaldór* = *ferrum fragile* of Haldorsen (Wimmer).

14 Man = delight of man
and augmentation of the earth
and adorner of ships.

15 Water = eddying stream
and broad geysir
and land of the fish.

16 Ýr = bent bow
and brittle iron
and giant of the arrow.

brotgjarnt = brittle. Cf. Egill Skallagrimsson's *Arinbjarnar drápa*, v. 1:

hlóðk lofköst *þann's lengi stendr*
óbrotgjarnt *í bragar túni*
(exegi monumentum aere perennius).

For *brotgjarnt járn*, 749 has *bardaga gangr*, "journey of battle"; JO *b*, *bardaga gagn*, "implement of battle."

Fífu fárbauti, JO *b*; *fífa*, poetical word for "arrow"; cf. *þulor*, *Snorra Edda*, p 281.

Fárbauti, a giant, father of the god Loki, Gylf. c. xxxiii., Skm. c. xvi., hence in poetry a generic term for giant. 749 has *fenju fleygir*, "speeder of the arrow."

APPENDIX

Abecedarium Nordmannicum.

From Codex Saugallensis 878, fol. 321, a 9th century MS. of Hrabanus Maurus containing the earliest example of the sixteen letter alphabet of the Viking Age. Cf. Mullenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*(3) p. 19 (Berlin, 1892); for facsimile, Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, p. 236:—

Feu forman,
Ûr after,
Thuris thritten stabu,
Os ist *h*imo oboro,
Rat endost ritan
Chaon thanne cliuôt.
Hagal, Nau*t* hab&
Is, Ar endi Sol,
Tiu, Brica endi Man midi
Lago the leohto,
Yr al bihabe*t*.

In the MS. the Scandinavian Runic characters are found. In addition: 1. Under *Feu forman* WREA in English Runic letters and T with one stroke as in v. 9. 7. Above Hagal an English H with two crossbars. 8. Above *Ar* an English A. 9. Above *Man* an English M. 11. Above *Yr* a variety of English Y.

THE HEROIC POEMS

Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
HORACE

INTRODUCTION

WALDHERE

In the year 1860 Professor E. C. Werlauff of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, was looking through some odds and ends of parchment brought back from England by the Icelandic scholar Grímur J. Thorkelin, the first editor of Beowulf, when he came upon two leaves of Anglo-Saxon MS. which had evidently been used in the binding of a book. Upon examination they proved to contain fragments of the Waltharius story, hitherto unknown from English sources, and in the same year Professor George Stephens brought out the *editio princeps* styled *Two Leaves of King Waldere's Lay*.

It was a popular story on the continent and several versions of it are preserved; cf. especially Learned, *The Saga of Walther of Aquitaine* (Baltimore, 1892), and Althof, *Waltharii Poesis*, I. 17–23 (Leipzig, 1899).

1. By far the most complete, as also the earliest, of the continental forms is the Latin epic of Waltharius by Ekkehard of St Gall, the first of that name, ob. 973. It is a poem of 1456 hexameter lines, composed according to a later namesake of the author (usually known as Ekkehard IV) as an academic exercise in the Vergilian mood, *dictamen magistro debitum*. An occasional phrase or turn of syntax betrays its Teutonic origin; cf. Althof, *W. P.* I. 28–32, 44–57, etc.: and Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 222 ff. (Edinburgh, 1904).

Briefly summarised, the story runs as follows: At the time of the great Hunnish invasions there ruled in Gaul three princes of Teutonic blood: (1) Gibicho, king of the Franks, at Worms; his son was called Guntharius. (2) Here-

ricus, king of the Burgundians, at Châlon-sur-Saône; his daughter Hiltgunt was betrothed to Waltharius, son of (3) Alpharius, king of Aquitaine. Attacked by a countless army of the Huns, they could not but submit and render hostages to Attila. In place of Guntharius, who was then too young, Gibicho sent Hagano of Trojan blood; but the others were forced to deliver up their own children. The hostages were well treated by Attila and raised to high positions at the Hunnish court. But on the death of Gibicho Guntharius revolted and Hagano fled to Worms. Thereupon Attila, fearing lest Waltharius should follow the example of his sworn companion, proposed to wed him to a Hunnish maiden. Waltharius, however, induced him to withdraw the proposition and prepared for flight with Hiltgunt. One night while the Huns were heavy with wine, they slipped away, carrying much treasure with them. They fled by devious ways and all went well till after they had crossed the Rhine by Worms. Now at last they felt out of danger; but Guntharius had heard of their arrival and thought only of recovering the tribute paid by his father to the Huns Hagano tried to turn him from so discreditable and dangerous a venture; but Guntharius would not be gainsaid. With twelve chosen warriors, of whom the unwilling Hagano was one, he fell upon Waltharius, who was resting in a defile of the Vosges. He demanded the treasure and the maiden, and Waltharius, when his offer first of 100, then 200 rings had been refused, made a stubborn resistance. The position was impregnable; eight of the Franks he slew in single combat and, when the three survivors attacked him with a trident, he was equally successful. Guntharius and Hagano then drew off; on the following day Waltharius, who had left his strong position, was waylaid by them and a furious combat ensued, in which Guntharius lost a leg, Hagano an eye and Waltharius his right hand[1].

Sic, sic, armillas partiti sunt Avarenses. (v. 1404)

[1] Hence the lords of Wasgenstein,—some ten miles as the crow flies from Worms—the traditional site of the battle, bore as their coat of arms six white hands on a red field; cf. the seal of Johann von Wasichenstein (1339), figured by Althof, *Das Waltharilied*, pp. 216 ff.

different. Contrast with Waldhere A the corresponding passages of Waltharius:

v. 544: *In terramque cadens effatur talia tristis:*
"Obsecro, mi senior, gladio mea colla secentur,
"Ut quae non merui pacto thalamo sociari
"Nullius alterius patiar consortia carnis";

v. 1213: *"Dilatus jam finis adest; fuge domne propinquant;*
and Þiðriks saga, c. 243: *Herra, harmr er þat, er þu skallt .i. beriaz við .xij. riddara. Rið hælldr aptr oc forða þinu lívi.*
Nor is it likely that the grotesque ending of Waltharius found a place in the English version. Moreover it appears that Waldhere encountered first Hagena, then Guthhere, whereas Guntharius and Hagano made a combined attack upon Waltharius.

It may be advisable to say something on the historical bearings of the story, discussed at length by Heinzel, Althof, and Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History in the Migration Period*, pp. 209–231.

5. In the Þiðriks saga af Bern, cc. 241–4 (Bertelsen, II. 105 ff.), a thirteenth century Norwegian compilation from North German ballads, the story is simplified; Gunther has disappeared and Hǫgni is an agent of the Hunnish king.

Valtari af Vaskasteini, nephew of Erminrikr, king of Apulia, and Hildigund, daughter of Ilias of Greece, hostages to Attila, flee by night from the Hunnish court, taking with them a vast treasure. Pursued by Hǫgni and eleven knights, Valtari turns to bay, kills the eleven Huns and puts Hǫgni to flight. But as Valtari and Hildigund are feasting after the battle, Hǫgni returns to the attack; whereupon Valtari strikes him with the backbone of the boar which he is eating. Hǫgni escapes with the loss of an eye and the fugitives make their way to Erminrik's court without more ado.

6. There is moreover a Polish version of the story, the earliest form of which is to be found in the Chronicon Poloniae by Boguphalus II, Bishop of Posen, ob. 1253; cf. Heinzel, *Das Waltharilied*, pp. 28 ff. and Althof, *W. P.* I. 17–23.

Here Wdaly Walczerz (Walter the Strong) is a Polish count who carries off Helgunda, a Frankish princess, whose love he has won by nightly serenades. At the Rhone he is overtaken by the betrothed of the princess, who challenges him to battle. The pursuer is slain and Walczerz carries home his bride to Tynecz by Cracow. The sequel, which relates how Walczerz is betrayed by Helgunda, cast into prison and helped in the end to vengeance by the sister of his gaoler, has nothing to do with the original story.

It has been suggested that the version found in Þiðriks saga represents the original form of the story. This is most improbable; for while Guthhere appears in Waldhere, by at least two centuries the earliest in point of date, the episode in Þiðriks saga has gone through the ballad process of simplification. It is unfortunate that so little remains of Waldhere; but it may be assumed that in general outlines it followed the story of Waltharius. It varied of course in detail; the characterisation of the heroine is vastly

different. Contrast with Waldhere A the corresponding passages of Waltharius:

v. 544: *In terramque cadens effatur talia tristis:*
"Obsecro, mi senior, gladio mea colla secentur,
"Ut quae non merui pacto thalamo sociari
"Nullius alterius patiar consortia carnis";

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Aetla (Attila) is of course the great king of the Huns ob. 453, the *flagella Dei*, who terrorised Europe for some twenty years until defeated by Aetius on the Catalaunian plains; cf. Chambers, *Widsith*, pp. 44–48.

Guthhere (the Gunnarr—Gunther of the Old Norse and Middle High German Nibelung cycles) is the historical king of the Burgundians, who in the year 411 set up the Emperor Jovinus and, as a reward for surrendering his puppet, was allowed to occupy the left bank of the Rhine. For twenty years he ruled at Worms: then, perhaps under pressure from the Huns, he invaded Belgic Gaul and was thrown back by Aetius (435). Two years later he was defeated and slain by the Huns, and the sorry remnants of his people took refuge in the modern Burgundy. He is the Gundaharius of the Lex Burgundionum issued by his successor Gundobad in 516; cf. Chambers, *Widsith*, pp 60–63.

In Waltharius however he is represented as a Frank, Hiltgunt and Herericus as Burgundians; for, since in the tenth century Worms was Frankish, Châlon-sur-Saône Burgundian, Ekkehard applied the political geography of

his own time to a story of the migration period. It is quite uncertain therefore of what nationality these persons really were. Learned suggests that Herericus may be a reminiscence of the Chararicus who ruled Burgundy after the Frankish conquest (Gregory of Tours, IV. 38). But as in the case of Waltharius himself, nothing definite is known.

In the Anglo-Saxon fragments Waldhere is simply called 'the son of Aelfhere'—the Alpharius of Ekkehard, *v.* 77. Hence it has been thought that, as Aquitaine was held by the Visigoths in the days of Attila, the hero belonged to that people—a view most probably held in the later Middle Ages; e.g. he is called *Walther von Spanje*, Walter of Spain, in the Nibelungenlied. But it is likely that the original story had some native name, which has been displaced by the classical 'Aquitania.' Now the battle between Waldhere and his foes took place in the Vosges (*Vosegus*, Ekkehard passim: *vor dem Vasgensteine*, Nibelungenlied, 2281), whence he is styled *Valtari af Vaskasteini* in Þiðriks saga; and so before the time of Ekkehard the name of the Vosges must have been confused with *Vasconia* = *Aquitania*; cf. the "Wessobrunner Gloss" of the eighth century: *Equitania: uuasconolant*[1].

A different indication is furnished by the MHG. fragments: there too he is called *der vogt von Spânje*, but his home is placed at *Lengers*, the French Langres (dept Haute-Marne), no very great distance from Châlon-sur-Saône, the home of Hiltgunt in Ekkehard, *v.* 52. Of course the Merovingian conquest of Gaul had hardly begun as yet; but it is not at all unlikely that there were small Teutonic communities to the S.W. of the Vosges already in the first half of the fifth century. For certain Teutonic place-names in that district confirm the statement of Eumenius that Constantius Chlorus settled "barbarian cultivators" in the neighbourhood of Langres; cf. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 162; Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 336, 582–4. Waldhere may or may not have belonged

[1] Cf. *P.G.*$_{(2)}$ III. 707.

to one of these communities: this much at least is certain that, like Sigurd and other heroes of the migration period, he was a character of no historical importance.

FINN.

The Finn fragment, incomplete at the beginning and the end, was discovered in the Lambeth Palace Library towards the end of the seventeenth century. The MS. has since been lost; luckily it had been printed in *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, I. 192 ff. (London, 1705), the monumental work of Dr George Hickes, the non-juring Dean of Worcester and one of the most devoted of those eighteenth century scholars to whom we owe so much.

The story of Finn must have been popular in Anglo-Saxon times. It is the subject of an episode in Beowulf, vv. 1068–1159, and three at least of its characters are included in the epic catalogue of Widsith:

v. 27. *Finn Folcwalding (weold) Fresna cynne;*

v. 29. *Hnæf Hocingum;*

v. 31. *Sæferð Sycgum.*

Moreover the *Finn filii Fodepald*—Nennius Interpretatus, *Finn (filii Frenn), filii Folcvald*[1]—who appears as an ancestor of Hengest in *Historia Brittonum*, § 31, a mistake for the *Finn Godwulfing* of other Anglo-Saxon texts (e.g. Chronicle 547 A), is clearly due to acquaintance with the story of Finn, the son of Folcwald[2].

From the continent evidence is scanty; the name Nebi (*Hnæf*) is occasionally found in Alemannic charters and Thegan, *Vita Ludovici*, c. II, gives the following as the genealogy of Hildegard, the wife of Charlemagne: *Godefridus dux genuit Huochingum, Huochingus genuit Nebi, Nebi genuit Immam, Imma uero Hiltigardam*; cf. Müllenhoff, *ZfdA*. XI. 282.

From Beowulf, v. 1068–1159, it appears that Hnæf, a vassal prince of the Danes, met his death among the Frisians at the court of Finn. The reasons for his presence there are

[1] Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, p. 171 (Berlin, 1898).
[2] Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 42.

nowhere stated in the episode or in the fragment. Very probably they were connected by marriage; the episode at least suggests that Hildeburh, described as *Hoces dohtor* in *v.* 1076, was the wife of Finn. She may have been Hnaef's sister, since in Widsith, v. 29, Hnaef is said to have ruled the Hocingas, and this would agree with *v.* 1074, where Hildeburh bewails the loss of sons and brothers, perhaps a poetical use of plural for singular; cf. *vv.* 1114–1117. Hnaef's followers, led by a certain Hengest, hold out in the palace-hall and inflict such fearful loss upon the Frisians that Finn is forced to come to terms. An agreement is made—in flat defiance of the spirit of the *comitatus*—and peace is kept throughout the winter. But when spring returns, Oslaf and Guthlaf, two of Hnaef's retainers (cf. *Ordlaf and Guþlaf* of Finn *v.* 18) make their way home. Determined to avenge their fallen lord, they collect reinforcements and return to Friesland, where they wipe out their dishonour in the blood of Finn and all his followers.

The story opens with the fall of Hnaef; nothing is known of its antecedents. The elaborate superstructure reared by Müllenhoff (*Nordalbingische Studien*, I. 157) and Simrock (*Beowulf*, p. 190 ff.)—the death of Folcwald at the hands of Hoc, the settlement of the blood-feud by the marriage of Finn and Hildeburh, the subsequent murder of Hnaef while on a visit to the Frisian court—is pure hypothesis, erected on analogy with the *Ingeld* story; cf. Beowulf, *vv.* 2020–2066 and Saxo, Book VI. There is no reason for ascribing treachery to Finn—*Eotena treowe* (Beow. *v.* 1071) refers to the loyalty of Hnaef's men, not to the bad faith of the Frisians—and it is just as probable that Hnaef was the aggressor.

The episode in Beowulf is to be regarded as a paraphrase of some full-length treatment of the subject; cf. Odyssey VIII. 499 and the cyclic poem of the Sack of Troy (Ἰλίου Πέρσις)[1]. But it is not easy to square the fragment with it. On the whole it seems most reasonable to assume that the fragment opens after the death of Hnaef, describes the battle hinted

[1] D. B. Monro, *Homer's Odyssey, Books XIII–XXIV*, pp. 371 ff. Oxford, 1901).

at in Beowulf and breaks off just before the armistice of *v.* 1085. The *hearogeong cyning* would then be Hengest, the *folces hyrde* Finn. It is true that in Beowulf, *v.* 1085, Hengest is styled *þeodnes ðegne*, an epithet scarcely compatible with *hearogeong cyning*, since in Anglo-Saxon epic poetry the title *cyning* is confined to ruling princes. Moreover it would seem from Finn, *v.* 43, that there had been at least five days fighting, whereas in Beowulf the battle was over in a single night. These difficulties have given rise to divergent views as to the precise moment in the story to which the fragment relates; Möller (*Altenglische Volksepos*, p. 65) places it between *vv.* 1143-4 of Beowulf, Bugge (*P.B.B.* XII. 20 ff.), before the death of Hnaef. But the balance of probability is in favour of the view expressed above[1].

DEOR.

The MS. of Deor is to be found on fol. 100 of the Exeter Book, the *mycel Englisc boc be gehwylcum þingum on Leodwisan geworht*, presented to Exeter by Bishop Leofric (1050-1072), and still preserved in the Cathedral Library there.

Setting aside *vv.* 23-34, the poem consists of six short strophes of irregular length followed by a refrain. Each of the first five strophes recounts some dolorous episode from heroic story, Weland's captivity at the hands of Nithhad, the Geat's hopeless love for Maethhild, the thirty years of exile suffered by Theodric, the sixth the poet's own misfortunes. The form is almost unique in Anglo-Saxon poetry, the only other instance being the so-called First Riddle of Cynewulf with its refrain *ungelic is us*. It is usually styled Deor's Lament (des Sängers Trost) and reckoned among the lyrics, but the only passage which recalls the Wanderer and the

[1] In a paper read before the Philological Society on Dec 6th, 1912, Dr R. W. Chambers has suggested that the fight was a three-cornered affair. Hnaef of the Healf-Dene and Garulf of the Eotenas came to blows at a meeting of princes. Hnaef was slain and Finn stepped in to end the battle, afterwards taking Hengest into his service. An outline of the argument is given in no. 4442 of the *Athenaeum* and on pp. 168-9 of his edition of Wyatt's *Beowulf* (Cambridge, 1914). In the meantime we are awaiting his promised *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*.

Seafarer, the Husband's Message and the Wife's Complaint, is *vv.* 28–34, which is generally recognised to be a late homiletic addition. Deor has lost his all, but the prevailing note is hope rather than despair. The refrain seems conclusive on that point; Weland wreaked vengeance on his oppressor, Beadohild brought forth a mighty son, Theodric won back his kingdom, the cruel Eormanric died a bloody death. Their troubles were surmounted, so may Deor's be. With Lawrence (*Mod. Phil.* IX. 23), rather may we call the poem a veritable *Consolatio Philosophiae* of minstrelsy.

HILDEBRAND.

The fragment of the *Hildebrandeslied*, the only surviving relic of German heroic poetry, was found on the outer cover of a theological MS.—No. 56 in the *Landesbibliothek* at Kassel. This MS. was written in the early part of the ninth century, and from a palaeographical point of view has considerable traces of Anglo-Saxon influence. Fulda was probably its home[1]; but the variations presented as well in language as orthography are so great that it cannot be classified as a specimen of any known dialect. High German and Low German forms are found side by side, even in the same word.

A convenient table of the dialectical peculiarities has been given by Mansion in his *Ahd. Lesebuch*, p. 113 ff. (Heidelberg, 1912), from which the following particulars are taken:

Consonants.

1. Original *p* and *t* remain as in Old Saxon; cf.
   v. 38 *werpan*, 62 *scarpen.*
   v. 16 *heittu*, 27 *ti*, 52 *đat.*
2. Orig. *k* becomes *ch* initially and after consonants as in O.H.G.; cf. *v.* 28 *chud*, 10 *folche* etc.:
   elsewhere it is represented indifferently by *k*, *h*, *ch*; cf. *v.* 1 *ik*, 17 *ih*, 13 *chunincriche.*

[1] *Hiltibraht* for *Hiltibrant* is paralleled in other documents from Fulda; cf. Kauffmann, *Festgabe für Sievers*, p. 136 ff. (Leipzig, 1896) and Kögel, *P.G.*$_2$ II. 74.

3. Orig. *đ* becomes regularly *t* as in O.H.G.; cf. *v.* 35 *truhtin*, 44 *tot*.
4. Orig. *ƀ*, when final, becomes *p*: cf. *v.* 27 *leop*, *v.* 34 *gap*; in other positions we find *b*: cf. *v.* 30 *obana*, etc. (*pist*, *prut*, *sippan*, *herane* are exceptions.)
5. Orig. ʒ regularly becomes *g* (*v.* 37 *geru* etc.), except when final, where we find c; cf. *v.* 43 *wic*, 55 *taoc*.
6. Orig. *þ* normally becomes *d*; but cf. *v.* 3 *Hađubrant*.
7. *n* disappears before *þ*, *s*, as in Anglo-Frisian and generally in the Heliand; cf. *v.* 5 *gudhamun*, 12 *odre*, 15 *usere*.
8. Erratic use of *h*; cf. *v.* 6 *ringa* (*hringa*), 57 *bihrahanan* (*birahanan*).

Vowels.

1. Orig. ō is represented indifferently by *o* and *uo*: cf. *v.* 8 *frotoro*, 11 *cnuosles*.
2. Orig. ē is represented by *ae* and *ę*: cf. *v.* 19 *furlaet*, 61 *lęttun*.
3. Orig. *au* (O.H.G. *ou*) is represented by *au* and *ao*: cf. *v.* 55 *rauba*. 53 *taoc*; sometimes also by *o* in cases where O.H.G. has ō; cf. *v.* 1 *gihorta*, 18 *floh*; but on the other hand *ao* appears in *v.* 22 *laosa*, 55 *aodlihho*.
4. Orig. *ai* is represented in a variety of ways: *ai*, *v.* 65 *staimbort*?; *ei*, *v.* 17 *heittu*; *æ*, *v.* 17 *hætti*; *ae*, *v.* 22 *raet*; *e*, *v.* 47 *heme*; *ę*, *v.* 52 *ęnigeru*.

Perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the problem is that put forward by Francis A. Wood, *P.M.L.A.* XI. 323–330, who argues that in its present form the Hildebrandeslied goes back to an Old Saxon poem current in the eighth century; heard from the lips of a Low German minstrel, it was written down in High German orthography and written down from memory, as is shown by the frequent deviations into prose. The existing MS. is not the archetype, but a copy of the original; the meaningless repetition of *darba gistontun* after *v.* 26 seems conclusive on this point[1].

[1] The exact converse of this view is vigorously expressed by Holtzmann, *Germania*, IX. 289 ff. and Luft, *Festgabe an K. Weinhold*, pp. 27 ff. (Leipzig,

The hero of the poem is that Hildebrand who occupies a far from insignificant position in the Nibelungenlied and the poems of the Heldenbuch. The story of the fragment, unknown from either of these sources, is concerned with the meeting of Hildebrand and his son Hadubrand. Leaving his wife and child at home Hildebrand has followed Dietrich to the court of Etzel, and now returning after thirty years of exile finds his son arrayed against him. He learns their kinship and reveals himself; but Hadubrand, suspecting treachery, refuses to believe him. The fragment breaks off just as the fight begins; but there can be no doubt that as in the Sohrab and Rustum story from the Shah-Nameh the father is obliged to slay his son[2].

The whole atmosphere of the fragment forebodes a tragic sequel, though it is true that later German poems on the subject, as well as the closely related episode in Þiðriks saga, cc. 405–409 (Bertelsen, II. 471; also in Holthausen's *Altisländisches Lesebuch*, p. 24 ff.), end happily with the mutual recognition of the father and the son. Such are:—

1. The fifteenth century *Der vater mit dem sun*, of Kaspar von der Rön; cf. Henrici, *Das deutsche Heldenbuch*, pp. 301 ff., translated by F. A. Wood, *The Hildebrandslied*, pp. 7 ff. (Chicago, 1914).

2. A broadsheet of 1515; cf. von Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volksklied um* 1530, pp. 84 ff.

Moreover an allusion to the death of Hadubrand is preserved in a poem found both in Saxo Book VII. (Holder, p. 244):

mediocima nati
Illita conspicuo species caelamine constat
Cui manus haec cursum metae vitalis ademit.
Unicus hic nobis haeres erat, una paterni
Cura animi, superoque datus solamine matri.
Sors mala, quae laetis infaustos aggerit annos,
Et risum mœrore premit sortemque molestat,

1896); for the literature of the subject, cf. Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch* (7), p. 188 (Halle, 1911).

[2] A comparative study of the motive will be found in M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem* (London, 1899).

and in Ásmundarsaga Kappabana, c. IX. (*Fornaldar Sögur*, III. 355):

Liggr þar inn svási sonr at höfði
eptirerfingi, er ek eiga gat,
oviljandi aldrs synjaðak.

There is one reference to Hildebrand in early English literature in the thirteenth century fragment, discovered in Peterhouse Library by the Provost of King's:

Ita quod dicere possunt cum Wade:
Summe sende ylues
and summe sende nadderes;
summe sende nikeres
the bi den watere (MS. *biden patez*) *wunien.*
Nister man nenne
bute Ildebrand onne[1].

These six lines are perhaps to be connected with the M.H.G. poem Virginal; see p. 60.

[1] Cf. *Academy*, Feb. 1896, No 1241; *Athenaeum*, Feb. 1896, No. 3565.

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WALDHERE

A.

.........hyrde hine georne:
"Huru Welande[*s* *ge*]worc ne geswiceð
monna ænigum, þara ðe Mimming can
hearne gehealdan. Oft æt hilde gedreas
5 swatfag ond sweordwund sec[*g*] æft*er* oðru*m*.
Ætlan ordwyga, ne læt ðin ellen nu gyt
gedreosan to dæge, dryhtscipe [*feallan*]
.........Nu is se dæg cumen,
þæt ðu scealt aninga oðer twega,
10 lif forleosan, oððe lang*n*e dom
agan mid eldum, Ælfheres sunu.
Nalles ic ðe, wine min, wordu*m* cid[*e*]
[*ðy*] ic ðe gesawe æt ðam sweord*p*legan
ðurh edwitscype æniges monnes
15 wig forbugan, oððe on weal fleon,
lice beorgan, ðeah þe laðra fela
ðinne byrnhomon billu*m* heowun.

A 2. MS. *Weland...worc.* 5. MS. *sec.*
7. *feallan* supplied by Stephens. 10. MS. *lange.*
13. MS. *sweordwlegan.*

A 1. *hyrde*: probably from *hyrdan* (*heard*), "to encourage"; cf. Elene, v. 841: *þa wæs hige onhyrded* (Dietrich). It might also come from *hyran*, "to hear."

Bugge, however (*Tidskrift*, VIII. 72), regards it as too abrupt an opening for a speech and refers *hyrde* to the sword Mimming, "carefully (Weland) tempered it." But Cosijn compares Beowulf, v. 2813: *het hine brucan wel.*

A 2. For the opening of a speech with *huru* cf. Guthlac, v. 332 and the Address of the Soul to the Body, v. 1:

Huru þæs behofaþ hæleþa æghwylc.

Welande[s ge]worc: cf. Beowulf, v. 454, and Waltharius, v. 964; for the story of Weland, Beadohild, Niðhad and Widia see notes to Deor, pp. 70–73.

ne geswiceð: cf. Beowulf, v. 1460:

Næfre hit æt hilde ne swac
Manna ængum þara þe hit mid mundum gewand.

A 3. *Mimming*: Weland's most famous sword.

In þiðrik's saga, cc. 57 ff., Mimir is Velent's master, Mimungr his masterpiece; cf. Biterolf and Dietlieb, vv. 115–181, Horn Child, III. 298:

"*It is the make of Miming,*
Of all swerdes it is king,
And Weland it wrought."

WALDHERE

A.

Eagerly she (sc. Hildegyth) encouraged him: "Weland's handiwork in very truth will fail no man who can wield the sharp Mimming. Many a time has warrior after warrior fallen in the fray, pierced by the sword and weltering in his blood. And in this hour, champion of Attila, let not thy prowess yield, thy knightly courage fail. Now is the day come when thou, son of Aelfhere, must lose thy life, or else win lasting glory among men. Never will I taunt thee with reproachful words, O lover mine, that in the clash of swords I have seen thee yield in craven fashion to the onset of any man, nor flee to the wall to save thy life, though many a foeman smote thy corselet with his sword. But ever didst thou strive to

and continental references. (Maurus, *Die Wielandsage*, passim.) In Saxo, Bk III., however, Mimingus is the name of the *satyrus* robbed by Hotherus of a sword and ring.

A 4. *hearne*, phonetic spelling of *heardne*, "sharp"; cf. Beowulf, v. 2067, *Heaðobearna*.

A 6. *Ætlan ordwyga*; cf. Waltharius, v. 106.

Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos;

Nibelungenlied, str. 1735:

Er und der von Spâne trâten manegen stic,
Do si hie bi Etzel vâhten manegen wîc.

For Teutonic princes in the service of Attila, cf. Jordanes, c. XXXVIII.

A 7. *dryhtscipe*: *feallan* supplied by Stephens to complete the verse. This leaves a lacuna of half a verse at the beginning of the next line. Accordingly Holthausen would expunge *to dæge* and read:

ne læt ðin ellen nu gyt,
gedreosan dryhtscipe. Nu is se dæg cumen.

A 8. [*Nu*] *is se dæg cumen*

At the end of l. 7 of the MS. there is something illegible that may [illegible]

Donec jam castrum securus deserat artum

gesawe: Cosijn explains it as poetic licence, "saw" for "heard."

Ac ðu symle furðor feohtan sohtest
mæl ofer mearce. Ðy ic ðe metod ondred
20 þæt ðu to fyrenlice feohtan sohtest
æt ðam ætstealle oðres monnes
wigrædenne. Weorða ðe selfne
godum dædum, ðenden ðin God recce.
Ne murn ðu for ði mece; ðe wearð maðma cyst
25 gifeðe to eoce unc; ðy ðu Guðhere scealt
beot forbigan, ðæs ðe he ðas beaduwe ongan
mid unryhte ærest secan.
Forsoc he ðam swurde *ond* ðam syncfatu*m*,
beaga mænigo; nu sceal beaga leas
30 hworfan fro*m* ðisse hilde, hlafurd secan
ealdne *eðel*, oððe her ær swefan,
gif he ða......"

B.

"......[*me*]ce bæteran
buton ðam anum ðe ic eac hafa
on stanfate stille gehided.

A 25. MS. *gifede*. 31. MS. ꝿ.
B 1. MS. *ce*.

A 18. *ac ðu symle furðor feohtan sohtest,*
mæl ofer mearce.

With the expression *sohtest mæl*, cf. the Icelandic legal term, *sækja mál*, "*to* press a suit." *Feohtan* is a noun in apposition to *mæl* and *ofer mearce* = "into the enemy's country." The whole phrase may be translated "but ever thou didst seek to press home thy martial suit."

A 19. *metod*, here, as originally, "fate," "destiny" (cf. O.N. *mjǫtuðr*); usually an epithet applied to the Creator.

A 20. *feohtan*, as in v. 18, to be taken as the acc. of *feohte* rather than as a verb. The instances of *secan* + infinitive noted by Callaway (*The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 57, 286) are all taken from rather late prose works.

A 21. *æt ðam ætstealle*: *ǣtsteall* occurs twice elsewhere, in Guthlac, v. 150:

him to ætstælle ærest arærde
Cristes rode; þær se cempa oferwon
frecnessa fela;

and as a place-name *æt ætstealles beorh* in a charter of Cnut; cf. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, IV. 31[2]. The only translation which will suit all three passages appears to be "position" in the military sense; cf. Waltharius, v. 1103: *tali castro nec non statione locatus.*

press home thy martial suit. Wherefore I trembled for thy fate, for that too fiercely thou didst attack thy warlike adversary on the field of battle. Win honour for thyself by noble deeds and till then may God protect thee. Have no care for that sword; a peerless treasure is vouchsafed to thee to help us in our time of trouble; wherewith thou shalt humble Guthhere's pride, in that he unjustly began the strife against thee. He refused the sword and the casket of treasure with its many rings. Now ringless he shall leave this combat and return to the land of which he has long been lord, or perish here, if he...."

B.

"......a better [sword] save that one which I too have laid at rest in its jewelled sheath. I know that Theodric

A 25. *eoce*, phonetic for *geoce*; cf. Andreas, v. 1124, *eogoþe*, etc.

A 29 In support of the emendation *bega leas*, "without either," which is not absolutely necessary, Bugge brings up Lokasenna, XIII.:

"*Jós ok armbauga mundu á vesa
beggja vanr, Bragi.*"

A 30 ff., cf. Beowulf, v 520 ff. (Cosijn)

B 1. The interpretation of this passage is very doubtful. The fragment opens towards the end of a speech by Guthhere, just before the swords are drawn for the last [illegible] prides himself on the [illegible]

Minn veitk mar baztan [illegible]

[illegible]

In this case it would be translated as above. For the use of *hydan* in this sense cf. *Homilies of Ælfric* (ed Thorpe), II. 246, 24,

Crist het hine hydan ðæt heard isern.

Bugge restores the verse as follows:

[Ne seah ic mid mannum me]ce bæteran.

Ic wat *þæt hine* ðohte Ðeodric Widian
5 selfu*m* onsendan *ond* eac sinc micel
maðma mid ði mece, monig oðres mid him
golde gegirwan— iulean genam,
þæs ðe hine of nearwum Niðhades mæg,
Welandes bearn, Widia ut forlet—
10 ðurh fifela ge*w*eald forð onette."
Waldere maðelode, wiga ellenrof,—
hæfde him on handa hildefro[*f*]re
guðbilla gripe— gyddode wordu*m*:
"Hwæt ðu huru wendest, wine Burgenda,
15 *þæt* me Hagenan hand hilde gefremede
ond getwæmde feðewigges? Feta, gif ðu dyrre,
æt ðus heaðuwerigan hare byrnan.
Standeð me her on eaxelu*m* Ælfheres laf,
god *ond* geapneb, golde geweorðod,
20 ealles unscende æðelinges reaf
to habbanne, þon*ne* ha[*n*]d wereð
feorhhord feondum; *n*e bið fah wið me
þonne unmægas eft ongynnað,
mecum gemetað, swa ge me dydon.

B 4. MS. *ic*. 10. MS. *gefeald*. 12. MS. *hildefrore*. 18. MS. *standað*. 21. MS. *had*. 22. MS. *he*.

B 4. Nonsense as it stands in the MS. Trautmann emends *ic* to *hine* (the sword Mimming).

B 7—10; cf. Witige's speech to Heime in Alpharts Tod, str. 252 ff.:

Dar an solt dû gedenken, dû uz ervelter degen
wie ich dir kam ze helfe unde vriste dir din leben.
Daz tet ich zuo Mûtâren, dâ half ich dir uz nôt,
dâ müestestû zewâre den grimmelichen tôt
dû und der von Berne beide genomen hân
wan daz ich in beiden sô schiere ze helfe kam.

The whole question of Dietrich's captivity among the giants is treated by Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen* I. 182–271. The following are the most important passages in MHG. poetry:

1. *Virginal* (Zupitza, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, v. 1 ff.). Dietrich loses his way near Castle Mutar, where Duke Nitger lives guarded by twelve giants. He is captured by one of these giants and held in close confinement till he wins the favour of Nitger's sister, who lets Hildebrand know of his master's plight. Hildebrand, Witige, Heime and others hasten to his aid; the giants are slain, the castle taken and Dietrich rescued from captivity.

2. *Sigenot* (Zupitza, *D.H.B.* v. 207 ff.). Dietrich is again captured by a giant and rescued by Hildebrand.

3. *Laurin* (Jänicke, *D.H.B.* I. 199 ff.) treats of a captivity of Dietrich among the dwarfs.

A convenient summary of these poems will be found in F. E. Sandbach's *Heroic Saga-Cycle of Dietrich of Bern* (London, 1905).

was minded to send it to Widia himself and much costly treasure with that blade and much beside it deck with gold. Nithhad's kinsman, Widia, the son of Weland, received the reward that had long been due for rescuing him from captivity. Through the giants' domain Theodric hastened forth."

Then spake Waldhere,—in his hand he grasped his trenchant blade, a comfort in the fray—the daring warrior, with defiant words: "Ha, friend of the Burgundians, didst thou deem in very truth that Hagena's hand had done battle with me and brought my days of combat to a close? Fetch, if thou darest, the grey corselet from me who am exhausted by the fray. Here it lies on my shoulders, even the heirloom of Aelfhere, good and broad-bossed and decked with gold, in every wise a glorious garment for a prince to wear, whose hand protects the treasure of his life against his foes. Never will it play me false, when faithless kinsmen return to the attack and beset me with their swords as ye have done.

B 10. *gefeald* which does not occur elsewhere [illegible] *geweald*; [illegible]

B 12. [illegible] out that *f* [illegible] Logeman, *E.E.T.S* 1888).

B 13. *guðbilla gripe*, abstract for concrete, "snijdend (tot den houw gereed) zwaard" [Cosijn], rather than "a gem of war-swords" (*gripe* = ON. *gripr*).

B 14. *wine Burgenda*; cf. Atlakviþa, xix, *vin Borgunda* (emended to *Borgunda hǫlrcin* by Gering), see introduction, p. 41.

B 19. *geapneb* has been translated "well-arched" and "crooked-nibbed" (B.T.), neither of which epithets [illegible] a corselet. On the o[illegible]

[illegible] a [illegible] 423, for examples [illegible] M'. Caelius who fell [illegible] a shield with its boss [illegible] v. 283, so the epithet [illegible]

[illegible] and Holthausen [illegible] can read *fēn off* [illegible] un *mægas*, thou [illegible] where in AS. *Onga*, the word [illegible] "sting," "point of an arrow" (B[illegible]

25 Ðeah mæg sige syllan se ðe symle byð
recon *ond* rædfest ryhta gehwilces,
se ðe him to ðam halgan helpan gelifeð,
to Gode gioce, he þær gearo findeð,
gif ða earnunga ær geðenceð.
30 Þonne moten wlance welan britnian
æhtum wealdan, þæt is...."

B 30. MS. *mtoten*.

Frankish ἄγγων of Agathias, II. 5, and graves of the Merovingian period; cf. too the *tridens* of Waltharius, v. 983 ff. (Althof, *W.P.* II. 382). In this case *mægas* = *mæcgas*, "warriors" (Diether, *Anglia*, XI. 106).

It were better perhaps to keep the reading *þonne unmægas*, which, if demanding a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, does fit in with sense and metre. *Unmægas*

Yet victory can be given by Him who is always prompt and regardful of everything that is good. For whosoever trusts in the Holy One for help, in God for succour, finds it ready to his hand, if first he be determined to deserve it. Thus can the great distribute their wealth and rule their possessions: that is......"

may be compared with such forms as *unlonde* (Walfisc, v. 14), "land that is no land," and translated "kinsmen who are no kinsmen."

B 26. *recon*; unless the text be normalised, it is quite unnecessary to emend to *recen*, there being sufficient evidence for *recon* (B.T.).

FINN

......[*hor*]nas byrnað næfre.
Hleoþrode þa hearogeong cyning:
"Ne ðis ne dagað eastan, ne her draca ne fleogeð,
ne her ðisse healle hornas ne byrnað;
5, 6 ac her forþ berað. Fugelas singað,
gylleð græghama, guðwudu hlynneð,
scyld scefte oncwyð. Nu scyneð þes mona
waðol under wolcnum, nu arisað weadæda
10 ðe ðisne folces nið fremman willað.
Ac onwacnigeaþ nu, wigend mine,
habbað eowre *hlencan*, hicgeaþ on ellen,
windað on orde, wesað on mode."

1. Hickes **nas*. 3. H. *eastun*.
12. H. *habbað eowre landa, hie geaþ on ellen.*

1. The fragment opens in the middle of a word; Grein (*Beowulf*, p. 75) supplies [*beorhtre hor*]*nas*.

2. *hleoþrode þa*, a satisfactory half-verse of the E type, though Trautmann and others would reverse the order on the analogy of Andreas, vv. 537, 1360, etc.

hearogeong cyning. Following Grundtvig all modern editors emend to *heaþogeong*—quite unnecessarily to my mind. *Hearogeong* (for *heorugeong*) is a perfectly admissible form, with the same meaning, whatever that may be, as *heaþogeong*, which is likewise a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; cf. *heordra* for *heardra* in v. 28.

cyning, probably the Hengest of v. 19. He is however styled *þeodnes ðegn* in Beowulf, v. 1085. This may be a loose or proleptic usage of *cyning*; cf. Abbo, *de Bello Parisiaco*, I. 38: *Solo rex verbo, sociis tamen imperitabat*; and Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 301 ff. (Cambridge, 1905).

3, 4. Cf. Grottasǫngr. XIX.:

Eld sék brinna fyr austan borg:
vigspjǫll vaka, þat mun viti kallaþr;
mun her koma hinig of bragþi
ok brenna bǿ fyr buþlungi.

For the portent of a fiery dragon, cf. Saxo, Bk VI. (Holder, p. 175), and the Chronicle 793 E, *wæron geseowene fyrenc dracan on þam lyfte fleogende* (before the coming of the Northmen).

5, 6. *ac her forþ berað*. Most editors have assumed a lacuna of at least two half-lines after *berað*. Hence Grein (*Beowulf*, p. 75) would supply

feorhgeniðlan
fyrdsearu fuslicu

and Bugge (*P.B.B.* XII. 23),

fyrdsearu rincas
flacre flanbogan.

......Then cried the king young in war, "It is not dawn that glows in the east. There is no dragon flying here, nor are the gables of this hall aflame. But here they are hurrying forth. The birds are singing, the grey-coat is howling, the war-wood is clanging, shield echoing when smitten by the shaft. Now shines the moon through rifts in the clouds; now fearful deeds are afoot that will bring on a pitched battle here. But wake ye now, my warriors, don your corselets, think on your prowess, dash to the van, be of good courage."

[illegible]

beran ut þræce
rincas under roderum,
and Andreas, v. 1220; also the mod. Eng. use of "bear" in nautical phrases

6, 7. There are several ways of taking this passage:

(1) *fugelas* = "arrows," not elsewhere in A.S., *græghama* = "mail-coat"; cf. Beowulf, v. 334, *græge syrcan*, Andreas, v. 129, *guðsearo gullon*, "The arrows are whistling, the mail-coat is rattling"

(2) *fugelas* = "birds of carrion," harbingers of slaughter, as often in A.S poetry; *græghama* = "wolf"; cf Exeter Gnomic Verses, 151, *wulf se* [illegible]

[illegible] v. 430, *þeos geomre lyft*, etc.

[illegible] "wandering," "erratic"; see [illegible]

10. *folces nið* in the sense of [illegible]

12. Hickes, *habbað eowre* [illegible]
eowre hlencan, hicgeaþ on ellen [illegible]

[illegible]

windan on wolcne.

The initial letter of *windað* is slightly different in form from the customary *w* of Hickes. Hence Rieger (*Z f.d.A.* XLVIII. 9) and Klaeber (*E. St.* XXXIX. 428) read *þindað* = *tumescere*, "show your temper", the alliteration would then fall on *orde*, *onmode*. But cf. v 27, *wreccea* (H. *wrecten*), where the identical form of *w* is found and initial *þ* is out of the question. Moreover Hickes represents capital *þ* by *Ð*, even where the MSS. have *þ*: cf. Metra of Boethius, IV. 11, 12 ff, in *Thesaurus*, I. 185 and Grein-Wülker, III. 7 ff.

14,15 Đa aras mænig goldhladen ðegn, gyrde hine his swurde;
ða to dura eodon drihtlice cempan,
Sigeferð and Eaha hyra sword getugon
and æt oþrum durum Ordlaf and Guþlaf
and Hengest sylf hwearf him on laste.
20 Đa gyt Garulf Guðere styrode
ðæt he swa freolic feorh forman siþe
to ðære healle durum hyrsta ne bære
nu hyt niþa heard anyman wolde.
ac he frægn ofer eal[*le*] undearninga,
25 deormod hæleþ, hwa þa duru heolde.
"Sigeferð is min nama (cweþ he), ic eom Secgena leod,
wrecce*a* wide cuð; fæla ic we*a*na gebad,
heordra hilda. Đe is gyt her witod
swæþer ðu sylf to me secean wylle."
30 Đa wæs on healle wælslihta gehlyn;
sceolde cel*lod* bor*d* cenum on handa

22. H. *baeran*. 24. H. *eal*. 27. H. *wrecten*, *weuna*.
31. H. *sceolde Celaes borð genumon handa*.

14. Apparently there is a half-verse missing here and Sievers (*Z.f.d.Ph.* xxix. 563 ff.), regarding *goldhladen þegn* as unmetrical, would emend to *goldhladen gumþegn*; cf. be Monna Cræfte, v. 83. Hence Holthausen (*Z.f.d.Ph.* xxxvii. 123) proposes

Đa aras [of ræste rumheort] mænig
goldhladen [gum]þegn.

But, as in Hildebrand, I prefer to print the ms. as prose.

17. *Eaha*: this form with intervocalic *h* is declared impossible by Möller (*ae. Volksepos*, p. 86), who would emend to *Eawa* (the name of Penda's brother in Chronicle, 716 A, 757 A); but cf. *Echha* in Liber Vitae, 94, 96 (Sweet, *O.E.T.* p. 155 ff.), *Aehcha* in a charter of Wihtred, K. of Kent (*O.E.T.* p. 428) and *Acha* (fem.) in Bede, *H.E.* III. 6.

18. *durum*, pl. for sing., as regularly in ON. *dyrr*.

Ordlaf and Guþlaf; cf. the Oslaf and Guðlaf, who appear as Hnæf's avengers in Beowulf, v. 1148 ff. The names Oddleivus and Gunnleivus are also found in Arngrim Jónsson's epitome of the lost Skjöldunga saga, c. IV.; cf. Chadwick, *O.E.N.* p. 52.

19. *Hengest*. Chadwick (*O.E.N.* p. 52) has shown that there is some reason for identifying this Hengest with the conqueror of Kent, the only other person who bears the name.

20 ff. It is just possible that Hickes' reading (with the emendation of *he* to *he*[*o*]) may be taken.

"Meanwhile Garulf (a Frisian) was taunting the warlike band (Hengest's men), saying that such noble souls as they should not bear their armour to the hall-door at the first onset, now that a bold warrior (Garulf himself) was bent on spoliation."

[But

Then up rose many a knight bedecked with gold and buckled his sword about him. The lordly champions strode to the door; Sigeferth and Eaha drew their swords, and to the other door went Ordlaf and Guthlaf, and Hengest himself followed in their wake.

Meanwhile Guthbere was urging Garulf that he, whose life was so precious, should not bear his armour to the door of the hall at the first onset now that a fierce warrior was bent on spoliation. But he like a gallant hero demanded loudly above all the din of battle who it was that held the door. "Sigeferth is my name," said he. "I am prince of the Secgan, known as a rover far and wide. Many a hardship, many a fierce battle have I endured. Yet to thee is either lot assured that thou wilt seek at my hands."

Then there was the crash of deadly blows within the hall; the beaked shield in the heroes' hand must needs

But for my own part I am inclined to favour a more radical purge on the lines of Klaeber (*E. St.* xxxix. 307, adopted by Chambers):

þa gyt Garulfe Guðere styrde, etc.

"Meanwhile Guthhere was restraining Garulf (his nephew; cf. Hagano and Patavrid in Waltharius, v. 846; Hildebrand and Wolfhart in Nibelungenlied, str 2208 ff.), saying that he, whose life was so precious, should not bear his armour to the hall-door at the first onset, now that so bold a warrior (Sigeferth) was bent on spoliation; but he (Garulf) ."

23 *hyt*, loose usage for *hie* (*hyrsta*); cf. Beowulf, v. 1705 (Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxviii. 456).

24. Hickes, *eal*. Trautmann (*B.B.* vii. 44) emends to *ealle* on metrical grounds; cf. Beowulf, v. 2899: *sægde ofer ealle*, and Daniel, v. 528

frægn ofer ealle
Swiðmod cyning hwæt þæt swefen bode.

26. *Sigeferþ, Secgena leod*, doubtless the *Sæferð* who ruled the *Sycgan* in Widsith, v. 31. For the confusion of *Sæ-* and *Sige-*, cf. Sæberht, K. of [illegible]

support.

(*cwæþ he*): the only instance in AS of the parenthetical "said he," so common in Hildebrand and the Heliand.

30 Cf. Saxo, Bk ii. (Holder, p. 65):

Iam curia bellis
Concutitur duroque strepunt certamine portae.

31. perhaps the greatest crux in AS. poetry. Hickes is quite unintelligible; Grein (*Beowulf*, p. 76) emends to

sceolde cellod bord cenum on handa,
banhelm berstan,

comparing Maldon, v. 283, *clufon cellod bord*, where *cellod* probably means "beaked" (Bosworth-Toller; cf. Epinal Gloss 862 · *rostrum = neb vel scipes celae*), no unsuitable epithet for an Anglo Saxon shield. There are many

banhelm berstan; buruhðelu dynede,
oð æt ðære guðe Garulf gecrang
ealra ærest eorðbuendra,
35 Guðlafes sunu; ymbe hyne godra fæla,
†hwearflacra hraer.† Hræfen wandrode
sweart and sealobrun, swurdleoma stod,
swylce eal Finn[*e*]sburuh fyrenu wære.
Ne gefrægn ic næfre wurþlicor æt wera hild
40 sixtig sigebeorna sel gebærann,
ne næfre swan*as* hwitne medo sel forgyldan,
ðonne Hnæfe guldan his hægstealdas.
Hig fuhton fif dagas, swa hyra nan ne feol
drihtgesiða, ac hig ða dur*u* heoldon.
45 Ða gewat him wund hæleð on wæg gangan,
sæde þ*æt* his byrne abrocen wære,
heresceorpum hror, and eac wæs his helm ðyrl.
Ða hine sona frægn folces hyrde
hu ða wigend hyra wunda genæson,
50 oððe hwæþer ðæra hyssa......

38. H. *Finnsburuh.* 41. H. *swa noc.* 44. H. *dura.*

other suggestions [Trautmann, *B.B.* VII. 46, *cyllod*, "covered with leather," from *cyll*, "a leather pouch"; Jellinek, *P.B.B.* XV. 431, *celed*; cf. Beowulf, v. 3022, *gar morgenceald*; Holthausen *ceorlæs* (collect. sg.), later *clæne*, etc.]; but Grein still holds the field.

banhelm may be taken as a kenning for shield, either:

(1) *bǔnhelm*=munimentum adversus occisores (*Sprachschatz*) or

(2) *bānhelm*=*bānhus-helm*, "protection for the frame," though in similar compounds *ban*=ON. *bein*; e.g. *banbeorgas*, *banryft*=*ocreae*. In either case *berstan* would be intransitive.

"The beaked shield...must needs be shattered."

Bugge, however (*P.B.B.* XII. 26) would emend to *bar-helm*, "boar-helmet," and take *berstan* as transitive, so in Riddle v. 8, and often in Middle English.

"The beaked shield...must needs shatter the boar-helmet"; cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. xxxvi.: *Igitur et Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare*; and Waltharius, v. 195:

Sternitur et quaedam pars duro umbone virorum.

Unfortunately *bār* does not occur in Anglo-Saxon poetry. But cannot *bānhelm* be retained in the sense of "helmet decorated with bones" (horns); cf. the epithets applied to Heorot in Beowulf, v. 704, *hornreced*, v. 780, *banfah*? This view is quite unobjectionable on philological grounds and is supported by archaeological evidence. Of course there are no such helmets in existence from the Germanic area. Helmets of any description are comparatively rare and, decorated with horns, are found only in representation; e.g. alongside boar-helmets on the bronze plates from Torslunda, Öland (Stjerna, *Essays on Beowulf*, p. 8); on the silver disc from Neuwied (Althof, *Waltharii Poesis*, II. 398); on the Golden Horn of Gallehus and the Gundestrup bowl (Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*, II. 155, 165). For

shatter the horned helm. The castle floor reechoed, till in the fray fell Garulf, son of Guthlaf, first of dwellers upon earth, and many a gallant warrior about him;....... The raven hovered dismal with its dusky plumage; the gleam of swords flashed forth as though all Finn's castle were aflame.

Never have I heard of sixty warriors flushed with victory who bore themselves more gallantly nor more honourably in mortal conflict, nor squires who paid a better recompense for shining mead than did his retinue to Hnaef. Five days they fought in such a wise that no man fell out of that knightly band; but still they held the door.

Then departed a wounded hero limping from the fray; he said that his mailcoat, armour of proof, was shattered and pierced likewise was his helm. Him straightway asked the keeper of the host how those warriors survived their wounds, or which of the heroes......

corrupt again, there is no point in altering *hwitne*.

44 *duru*: probably Hickes misread *u* for *a* in the MS., as in v. 3 *eastun*, v. 27 *weuna*.

47. *herescrorpum hror*. Thorpe emends to *heresceorp unhror*, "his armour useless," though it is doubtful whether *unhror* can bear this meaning; cf. however, Chambers, *Beowulf*, p 162. But the MS. reading can be translated "strong as armour" (Bosworth Toller).

48. *folces hyrde*: Finn; cf. the common Homeric expression *ποιμένα λαῶν*, "shepherd of the host," applied especially to Agamemnon.

DEOR

Weland †himbe wurman† wræces cunnade,
anhydig eorl earfoþa dreag,
hæfde him to gesiþþe sorge ond longaþ,
wintercealde wræce; wean oft onfond,

1. *Weland*, the most celebrated smith of old Teutonic legend, mentioned over and over again in the literature of the middle ages. The references, English, German, Scandinavian and French, are collected by Maurus, *Die Wielandsage*, pp. 7–57 (*Münchener Beiträge*, xxv., Erlangen, 1902); cf. especially King Alfred's Translation of the Metra of Boethius, x. 33:

Hwær sint nu þæs wisan Welandes ban
þæs goldsmiðes, þe wæs geo mærost;

and þiðriks saga, c. 69 (Bertelsen, II. 105):

Velent er sva frægr um alla norðrhalfo heimsins at sva þyckiaz allir menn mega mest lofa hans hagleic at hveria þa smið er betr er gor en annat smiði, at sa er Volundr at hagleic er gort hevir.

Hence any weapon of especial excellence was ascribed to Weland; cf. Beowulf, v. 455, *Welandes geweorc* (of B.'s corselet); Waldhere, A 2 (of the sword Mimming); Waltharius, v. 965, *Wielandia fabrica* (of a mail-coat), etc.

The story mentioned here is found at length in the Old Norse *Vølundarkviþa*, one of the earliest of the Edda poems.

Briefly summarised, the story runs as follows: Vølundr, a mysterious smith, is surprised by Niþǫþr, king of the Niarar, and robbed of a great treasure, including a (magic?) ring. The ring is given by Niþǫþr to his daughter Bǫþvildr and the smith hamstrung to prevent reprisals. Forced to labour for the king, he seeks an opportunity for revenge, which soon presents itself. Visited in secret by Niþǫþr's sons, he slays them both and makes of their bones utensils for the royal table. In the meantime Bǫþvildr has broken her ring and, fearing her father's wrath, she brings it to the smithy for repair. The smith receives her amiably and offers her wine to drink; but the draught is drugged and Vølundr works his will upon the sleeping princess. Once more in possession of the ring, he regains his magic power and flies away, first announcing what has happened to the king.

An expanded version of the Vølundr story, owing something to German influence, is found in þiðriks saga, c. 57 ff. (Bertelsen, I. 73 ff.). There Velent is affiliated to the giant Vaði, the Wada of Widsith, whereas in Vølundarkviþa itself he is called *visi álfa*, "prince of the elves," in the prose introduction "son of the king of the Finns." Moreover the son of Bǫþvildr and Vølundr, vaguely hinted at in Vølundarkviþa, plays an important part in þiðriks saga. He is Viðga, the Widia-Wudga of Widsith,

DEOR

Weland, the steadfast warrior, had experience of persecution; he suffered hardship. As boon companions he had grief and yearning, misery in the cold of winter. He fell on

suggests that we should keep the MS reading and translate "in Wermaland" (the S. Swedish district of Värmland, which is associated in the Heimskringla, Olafs saga Helga, cc. 77, 181, with the neighbouring Nerike and West Götaland; see v. 14 n.).

4. *wintercealde*; twice elsewhere in AS., Andreas, v. 1265, and Ridd. v. 7, where it seems to mean "in the cold of winter"; cf. Þiðriks saga, c. 73 (ed. Bertelsen, I. 117):

Velent mælir at þeir skulo ganga ofgir til smiðionnar þegar snior væri nyfallin. En sveinarnir hirða aldregi hvart þeir ganga ofgir eða rettir, en

Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century (ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1871), I. 63 ff.:

"All the account which the country people are able to give of it is at this place lived formerly an invisible Smith, and if a traveller's horse had left a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time he might come again and find the money gone but the horse new shoed."

A similar story, told of the volcanic isle of Strongyle, is found in the ... barter of ... of Knox ...

... u. *Urge*... generally ... and Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History*, pp. 201–8 (Cambridge, 1911).

5 siþþan hine Niðhad on nede legde,
swoncre seonobende on syllan monn.
þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.
Beadohilde ne wæs hyre broþra deaþ
on sefan swa sar swa hyre sylfre þing,
10 þæt heo gearolice ongieten hæfde
þæt heo eacen wæs; æfre ne meahte
þriste geþencan, hu ymb þæt sceolde.
þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.
We þæt Mæðhilde monge gefrugnon
15 wurdon grundlease Geates frige,

14. MS. *mæð hilde.*

5. *on* should be included in the first half-line. An exactly parallel expression is found in Christ and Satan, v. 539:

þec gelegdon on laðne bend
hæðene mid hondum.

6. *seonobende*; for the use of sinews as ropes, cf. Judges xvi. 7, *mid rapum of sinum geworhte* (A.V. "with seven green withs that were never dried").

For the whole passage, cf. Vǫlundarkviþa, xiv.:

Vissi ser á hǫndum hǫfgar nauþir
En á fótum fjǫtur of spentan.

Vǫlundr kvaþ:

"*Hverir 'u jǫfrar þeirs á lǫgþu*
bestisíma ok mik bundu."

Several editors (see Grein-Wülker, I. 278 n.) have wished to read into the stanza the story of the maiming of Vǫlundr; cf. the prose between strophes XVIII. and XIX. of Vkv.: *Svá var gǫrt at skornar váru sinar í knesfótum ok settr í holm einu.*

They therefore emend *seonobende* to *seonobenne*, "wound to sinew," and translate "after Nithhad had laid him in bonds (and laid) a supple sinew-wound on a better man." But such emendation is quite unnecessary.

7. *ofereode*, impersonal with gen. of respect; cf. Shipley, *The Genitive case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Baltimore, 1903), pp. 18, 50: Brandl's rendering (*P.G.*$_2$ II. 975), "das ging vorüber, dieses (gehe vorüber) wie es kann," seems unnecessarily strained.

8. *Beadohilde*, the daughter of Niðhad; her brothers had been slain and she herself outraged by Weland, as can be seen from the ON. Vǫlundarkviþa and þiðriks saga, c. 78, especially Vǫlundarkviþa XXXVIII.: *Nu gengr Bǫþvildr barni aukin.* Elsewhere her name occurs only as the Buodell of the Danish ballad, Kong Diderik og hans Kæmper, B 15 (Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, I. 100, Kjøbenhavn, 1853):

Werlandt heder min fader,
war en smedt well skǿn:
Buodell hede min moder,
en koning-dather wen.

The son of Beadohild and Weland was the Widia (Wudga) of Widsith, v. 124–130, and Waldhere B, v. 4–10, the Viðga of þiðriks saga, and the Wittich of the Dietrich cycle in MHG. literature. He was undoubtedly the Vidigoia, "the bravest of the Goths, who fell by the treachery of the Sarmatians," and was celebrated by his people in heroic poetry; cf. Jordanes, *de Origine Actibusque Getarum*, cc. v., XXXIV.

evil days after Nithhad had laid fetters upon him, supple bonds of sinew on a nobler man.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

On Beadohild's mind her brothers' death preyed far less sorely than her own condition, when she clearly perceived that she was with child; she could not bear to think on what must happen.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

Many of us have heard that the Geat's affection for

14. MS. *we þæt mæð hilde monge gefrugnon.*

Vkv. xxxiii.:

Vaki ek ofralt vilgalauss,
sofna ek minst síz sunu dauþa.

But elsewhere in AS. *frige* is used for sexual rather than parental love. Besides the story of Niðhad and Widia, the son of Beadohild and Weland (Nidada? and Vidigoia in Jordanes) is almost certainly of Gothic origin and little likely to be connected with Sweden (as in Vkv.) in a poem so early as Deor.

With less probability Lawrence (*Mod. Phil.* ix. 29 ff.) argues that it deals with the love of Hild and Heðinn, comparing particularly the version found in Saxo, Bk v.

But the case is far from proven, and it is safer to regard this stanza as alluding to one of those stories, familiar enough to an Anglo-Saxon audience

... p. 203).

The name Geat does occur at the head of the West-Saxon and Bernician genealogies ...

The Scandinavian story of the god Freyr's love for the giantess Gerðr (found in Skirnismál, xlii.:

Lǫng es nǫ́tt, langar 'u tvær,
hvé of þreyjak þriar?
Opt mér mánuþr minni þótti
an sjá hýnǫ́tt hǫlf:

and Gylfaginning, c. xxxvii.: *ekki svaf hann, ekki drakk hann; engi þorði at krefja hann málsins*) is interesting as a parallel but nothing more.

þæt him seo sorglufu slæp ealle binom
  þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.

Đeodric ahte þritig wintra
Mæringa burg; *þæt* wæs monigum cuþ
20 þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.

We geascodon Eormanrices
wylfenne geþoht; ahte wide folc
Gotena rices; *þæt* wæs grim cyning.
Sæt secg monig sorgum gebunden,
25 wean on wenan, wyscte geneahhe
þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære.
  þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.

16. MS. *hi*.

18. *Đeodric.* With the notable exception of Wilhelm Grimm most authorities have identified Dietrich von Bern, the Theodoric of legend, with the historical king of the Ostrogoths, who conquered Italy from Odovacar and ruled it with great success from 493 to 527. It is certain that he was so identified in Anglo-Saxon literature; for the passages *þæt wæs Theodoricus se cyning þone we nemnaþ* þeodric in the *Old English Martyrology* (p. 84, ed. Herzfeld, *E.E.T.S.*) and *se* þeodric *wæs Amulinga* in *King Alfred's Old English Translation of Boethius* (p. 7, ed. Sedgefield, Oxford, 1899) equate the historical Theodoric with the hero of popular tradition. Yet there are certain striking differences; for the most notable features of the MHG. Dietrich story, found already in Hildebrand, are the thirty years of exile at the Hunnish court and the loss of almost all his knights—which find no counterpart in the life of the historical Theodoric. It seems most probable therefore that the Dietrich of tradition has been credited with adventures, which belong more properly to some older Gothic hero; perhaps his father, Theodemer, whose name indeed is found in one MS. of the Older Edda (e.g. Þjóþmár of Guþrúnarkviþa, III. 3), perhaps the Gensimundus *toto orbe cantabilis* of Cassiodorus; cf. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 62.

19. *Mæringa burg.* A most striking parallel is to be found on the 10th century Runic stone from Rök in Östergötland, Sweden; cf. Bugge, *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, v. 1 ff., and Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 32 ff. (London, 1884):

raiþ [þ]*iaurikR hin þurmuþi*
stiliR flutna [a̧] *strantu hraiþmaraR.*
sitir nu karuR a̧ kuta sinum
skialti ub fatlaþr skati marika.

"Theodoric the bold was riding,
prince of warriors, on the shores of the Gothic sea [Adriatic].
He is sitting armed on his steed,
decked with a shield, the lord of the Mæringas."

This strophe is supposed to be a description of the equestrian statue of M. Aurelius, ascribed to Theodoric by the barbarians, which stood at Ravenna till removed by Charlemagne to Aachen in 809; cf. Torp, *Ark.f.n.F.* XXIX. 345 ff.

[illegible] a name applied to the Ostrogoths; elsewhere we [illegible] Gloss *Gothi*=*Meranare*, and in the Latin prologue to Notker's OHG. translation of Boethius Theodoric is called *rex Mergothorum et Ostrogothorum.*

For the connection between Dietrich and the Tyrolese Meran in MHG.

Maethhild passed all bounds, that his hapless love completely robbed him of his sleep.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

Theodric ruled for thirty years the fortress of the Maeringas; that has become a matter of common knowledge.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

We have learned of Eormanric's ferocious disposition; he held dominion far and wide in the realm of the Goths. A cruel king was he. Many a man sat in the toils of care, anticipating trouble and continually praying for the downfall of his sovereignty.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

literature, cf Heinzel, *Über die ostgotische Heldensage*, pp. 9 ff. (Wien, 1889); Jiriczek, *D.H.S.* i. 119 ff.

21. *Eormanrices.* According to his contemporary, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 3 1, Ermenrichus was a great king of the Goths, his empire stretching from the Baltic to the Euxine, who perished by his own hand, despairing of resistance to the Huns, c. 375. After Theodoric he was the most celebrated in tradition of the Gothic kings; but he bears a [illegible]

[illegible] the latter role he has [illegible] tradition, see Jiriczek, [illegible] *History*, pp. 232 ff., Chambers, *Widsith*, pp. 15–36.

22 *wylfenne*, "wolfish," "ferocious"; cf. Heliand, v. 5039: *habdiun im hugi wulfo* (of the Jews).

Siteð sorgcearig, sælum bedæled
on sefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð
30 þæt sy endeleas earfoða dæl.
Mæg þonne geþencan, þæt geond þas woruld
witig dryhten wendeþ geneahhe,
eorle monegum are gesceawað,
wislicne blæd, sumum weana dæl.
35 þæt ic bi me sylfum secgan wille,
þæt ic hwile wæs Heodeninga scop,
dryhtne dyre; me wæs Deor noma.
Ahte ic fela wintra folgað tilne,
holdne hlaford, oþ þæt Heorrenda nu,
40 leoðcræftig monn, londryht geþah,
þæt me eorla hleo ær gesealde.
Þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg.

30. MS. *earfoda.*

31. Cf. Wanderer, v. 58:
For þon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þas woruld,
for hwan modsefa min ne gesweorce
þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence;
a characteristic mood in Anglo-Saxon literature.

36. *Heodeninga scop: Heodeningas*="Heoden and his men," cf. ON. *Hjaðningar* in the kenning *Hjaðninga veðr*: "battle" (Skaldsk. c. XLIX.), and MHG. *Hegelingas* (the form should be *Hetelingas*, but it has been influenced by certain Bavarian place-names; cf. Jiriczek, *Northern Hero-Legends*, p. 134) of the Austrian poem Kudrun.

Heðinn and Hǫgni—*Hagena weold Holmrygum, Heoden Glommum* of Widsith, v. 21—and the story of their everlasting conflict are known from all parts and all ages of the Scandinavian world, in the Ragnarsdrápa of Bragi Boddason, the earliest of Norwegian skalds, in the Háttalykill of Rǫgnvaldr, Jarl of the Orkneys (12th cent.), in the Icelandic Prose Edda of Snorri Sturlason and Sǫrlaþáttr, in the Faroese Sjurðar Kvæði—where, curiously enough, Hǫgni is confused with his namesake of the Nibelung story—and in a Shetland ballad of 1774 from the isle of Foula. The better-known of these versions are collected and translated by Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 100 ff. In Kudrun, however, Hetele and Hagen are reconciled; cf. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, passim (Halle, 1901).

He who is anxious and distressed sits bereft of joy, with gloomy thoughts in his heart. Suffering, he deems, will ever be his lot. Still he can reflect that the wise Lord follows very different courses throughout the world; to many a man he gives honour and abiding prosperity, yet nought but misery to some.

Of myself I will say this much, that once I was minstrel of the Heodeningas, my master's favourite. My name was Deor. For many years I had a goodly office and a generous lord, till now Heorrenda, a skilful bard, has received the estate which the protector of warriors gave to me in days gone by.

That was surmounted; so can this be.

37. *Deor.* The name Deor (in the form Diar) occurs in a Kentish charter of 859; cf. Sweet, *O E.T.* p. 450. It is also found on a coin of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–822); and Aethelwulf of Wessex had a moneyer of that name at Canterbury; cf. Grüber and Keary, *Catalogue of English Coins in the B.M., Anglo-Saxon series*, i. 34, ii. 9 ff. (London, 1887–93).

39. *Heorrenda*, like the Horant of Kudrun, is Heoden's minstrel. In the Prose Edda (Skaldks. c. xlix.) and Sorlaþáttr, however, Hjarrandi is become the father of Heðinn, though a tradition of the poet may have survived in the Hjarrandaljóð mentioned in Bósa saga, c. xii (*F.A.S.* iii. 264)

40. *londryht*; as in Beowulf, v. 2886

londrihtes mot
þære mægburge monna æghwylc
idel hweorfan,

seems to mean an "estate" (or the rights over one), granted by the king and revocable at his pleasure; cf. Widsith, v. 95:

he me lond forgeaf
mines fæderes eþel, frea Myrginga.

HILDEBRAND

Ik gihorta đat seggen
đat sih urhettun ǣnon muotin,
Hildibra*n*t enti Hađubrant, untar heriun tuem.
Sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun,
5 garutun se iro gudhamun, gurtun sih iro suert ana,
helidos ubar [*h*]ringa; do sie to dero hiltiu ritun.
Hiltibra*n*t gimahalta, (Heribrantes sunu,) her uuas heroro man,
ferahes frotoro, her fragen gistuont
fohem uuortum, [*h*]wer sin fater wari
10,11 fireo in folche, "eddo [*h*]welihhes cnuosles du sis?

. . . .

ibu du mi ęnan sages, ik mi de odre uuet,
chind, in chunincriche: chud ist mi*r* al irmindeot."
Hadubrant gimahalta, Hiltibrantes sunu:
15 "Đat sagetun mir usere liuti,
alte anti frote, dea érhina warun,

3. MS. *Hildibraht*. 6. MS. *ringa*. 7. MS. *Hiltibraht*. 9. MS. *wer*. 11. MS. *welihhes*. 13. MS. *min*.

1. *Ik gihorta đat seggen*, a regular epic formula in the old Teutonic languages.

2. *urhettun* might be N. pl. of a noun corresponding to AS. *oretta*, or the pret. pl. of a weak verb; cf. Goth. *ushaitjan*.

ænon, probably N. pl. of adjective; cf. Heliand, v. 13, *ênon* (MS. *enan*).

muotin has been interpreted as the imperfect subj. of a verb corresponding to OS. *motian*, as the pret. pl. of *muoen*, "bemühen," "bedrängen"; or as the G. sg. of a noun, for which however there appears to be no evidence in OHG. nor OS. But cf. Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch*, pp. 180–1.

4. *Sunufatarungo*, a representative of a class of nouns—"dvandva compounds"—common in Sanskrit; cf. OS. *gisunfader*, "father and sons" (Heliand, v. 1176): AS. *suhtergefæderan*, "uncle and nephew" (Beowulf, v. 1164), etc. It might conceivably be an old dual; otherwise it must be a G. pl. depending on *heriun*. Cf. Braune, p. 181.

HILDEBRAND

I have heard it said that Hildebrand and Hadubrand challenged each other to single combat between the hosts. Father and son, they set their panoply aright and made their armour ready: the heroes girt their swords above their corselets when they rode to the fray.

Hildebrand spake, the son of Heribrand: he was the older man, the riper in years. He began to ask in a few brief words who was his father among mortal men, "or of what stock art thou? If, young warrior, thou wilt tell me the name of one man in the kingdom, I shall know the others of myself; for the whole race of men is known to me."

Then spake Hadubrand, the son of Hildebrand: "Our liegemen, full of years and wisdom, who lived in days gone

7. *Heribrantes sunu* extra metrical as in vv. 30, 49, 58.
8. *ferahes frotoro*; cf. Maldon, v. 317: *ic eom frod feores.*
9. *fohem uuortum*; cf. Beowulf, v. 2246. *fea worda cwæð.*

[*h*]*wer sin fater wari*
fireo in folche;

v. Grienberger takes *fireo* with *hwer*; cf. Odyssey, I. 170: τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; and Heliand, v 4974:

Fragodun fiundo barn, *hwilikes he folkes wari*
"Ni bist thu, etc.,"

where the same abrupt transition from indirect to direct narrative is found.

But phrases such as *mannō folc, helido folk* are common in the Heliand.

With the whole passage Collitz (*P.B B.* xxxvi. 366) compares the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus in *Iliad* vi. 119 ff.

12. *in chuninchriche*, probably to be taken with *çnan* as above (Braune)

irmindeot, "the whole race of men" *Irmin-* was used as the first [illegible]

[illegible] pp. [illegible] ff.

16. *alte anti frote*; cf. Otfrid, II. 12. 24: *altêr inti fruāter*, and Beowulf, v. 2119: *eald ond infrod.*

dat Hiltibrant hætti min fater; ih heittu Hadubrant.
Forn her ostar giweit, floh her Otachres nid—
hina miti Theotrihhe enti sinero degano filu.
20 Her furlaet in lante luttila sitten
prut in bure barn unwahsan,
arbeo laosa; he[*r*] raet ostar hina.
Det sid Detrihhe darba gistuontun
fateres mines; dat uuas so friuntlaos man.
25 Her was Otachre ummet tirri,
degano dechisto miti Deotrichhe.
Her was eo folches at ente; imo was eo fehta ti leop.
Chud was her chonnem mannum.
Ni waniu ih iu lib habbe...."
30 "†W[*et*]tu† irmingot" (quad Hildibra*n*t) "obana ab heuane,
dat du neo dana halt mit sus sippan man
dinc ni gileitos......"
Want her do ar arme wuntane bouga
cheisuringu gitan, so imo se der chuning gap,
35 Huneo truhtin. "Ðat ih dir it nu bi huldi gibu."

18. MS. *gihweit.* 22. MS. *heradꝫ ostar hina dꝫ.* 24. MS. *fatereres.* After 26 MS. has *darba gistontun*, repeated mechanically from above, v. 23. 30. MS. *W .. tu*, *Hildibraht.*

18. *floh her Otachres nid*; cf. Beowulf, v. 1200: *searoniðas fleah* (MS. *fealh*) *Eormanrices.*

It is significant that in Hildebrand, the earliest evidence for Dietrich's exile at the Hunnish court, his enemy is Otacher, Odoacer-Odovacar, the Scyrrian or Turcilingian leader of *fœderati*, who in 476 deposed Romulus Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West, and reigned in Italy as Patrician till the invasion of Theodoric (489), by whom he was treacherously slain after the fall of Ravenna (493). In the MHG. epics (Dietrichs Flucht, etc.) Otacher's place is filled by Erminrek; cf. Deor, v. 21 n. An intermediate form of the story is found in the Quedlinburg-Würzburg Chronicles (*MGH. SS.* III. 31, VI. 23) and Ekkehard von Aura (*MGH. SS.* VI. 130 ff.), where Odovacar is the treacherous counsellor of Ermanric, corresponding to the Sibich of later authorities.

20 ff. Perhaps the most satisfactory way of dealing with this much disputed passage (cf. Braune, p. 182) is to take *prut* with v. Grienberger as *pruti* (Gen.), "in his wife's bower." It can then be translated without difficulty as above.

21. *barn unwahsan*; cf. AS. Genesis, v. 2871: *bearn unweaxen.*

23. MS. *dꝫ*, which Braune and others regard as dittography for *Det-rihhe*: v. Grienberger compares with the inorganic *þæt* found in certain AS. charters.

by, have told me that my father's name was Hildebrand. I am called Hadubrand. Long ago he departed towards the east: he fled from the hatred of Odovacar, away with Theodoric and many another of his knights. He left behind his hapless son, bereft of his heritage, a little child in his mother's bower. But he rode away to the east. In after years Theodoric had need of my father; he had lost all his friends —he was exceeding wrathful with Odovacar. The most devoted knight by Theodoric's side, he was ever in the forefront of the host: he always loved the fray. He was famous among men of valour; but I deem he is no longer alive."

"I call to witness the Almighty God from heaven above," quoth Hildebrand, "that never hast thou sought the wager of battle with one so near of kin."

And with that he slipped from his arm the twisted rings wrought of imperial gold, which the king, even the lord of the Huns, had bestowed upon him. "This will I give to thee in earnest of good faith."

24 *dat uuas so friuntlaos man*, a figure of speech common in AS. and OS.; cf. Beowulf, v. 11. *þæt wæs god cyning*, etc. It refers to Theodoric rather than to Hildebrand; cf the prose at the beginning of Guþrúnarkviþa hin forna: *þjóðrekr konungr var með Atla ok hafði þar látit flesta alla menn sína*; Klage, vv. 2061 ff., and Nibelungenlied, str. 2256 ff.

25. *ummet tirri*; cf. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 808[b] (Christiania, 1873); *terren (tirren)*: *hidsig, vred, opirret*, "hot-headed," "angry," "exasperated" (Kögel).

26 *dechisto*, generally taken as the superlative of an adj. corresponding to ON. *þekkr*, "tractable," "obedient" Kögel (*Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* I. 1. 219) emends to *dehtisto*; cf. OHG. *kideht*: *devotus*. In any case cf þiðriks saga, c. 15 (Bertelsen, I. 31):

[illegible] *hafa meira*

[illegible] The twelve [illegible] the least [illegible] he wissen,"

"rufe zum Zeugen an."

obana ab hevane; cf. Heliand, v. 5799 · *obana fon radure*

31 *neo dana halt*; cf. Goth. Skeireins, iv. d: *ni þe haldis* (*non deterro*), and Heliand, v. 2643:

Than hald ni mag thera medun man gimakon fiðan,

though the sense is not quite parallel. If copied correctly it has lost its force here as in the AS., *no þy ær fram meahte* (Beowulf, v. 751).

32. *dinc ni gileitos*; cf. Veldecke's Eneit, v. 77; *teidinc leiden* (v. Grienberger).

33. *wuntane bouga*: cf. Beowulf, vv. 1193, 3134: *wunden gold*, Heliand, v. 554: *wundan gold*.

34. *cheisuringu*, an imperial gold coin; cf. AS. *casering*: *drachma, didrachma*.

Hadubran*t* gima[*ha*]lta, Hiltibrantes sunu:
"Mit geru scal man geba infahan
ort widar orte. Du bist dir, alter Hun,
ummet spaher; spenis mih mit dinem wortun,
40 wili mih dinu speru werpan.
Pist also gialtet man, so du ewin inwit fuortos.
Ðat sagetun mi sęolidante
westar ubar Wentilsęo, dat inan wic furnam.
Tot ist Hiltibrant, Heribrantes suno."
45 Hiltibran*t* gimahalta, Heribr*an*tes suno:

. . . .

"Wela gisihu ih in dinem hrustim,
dat du habes heme herron goten,
dat du no bi desemo riche reccheo ni wurti."
"Welaga nu, waltant got (quad Hiltibrant), wewurt skihit.
50 Ih wallota sumaro enti wintro sehstic ur lante,
dar man mih eo scerita in folc sceotantero,
so man mir at burc ęnigeru banun ni gifasta.
Nu scal mih suasat chind suertu hauwan,
breton mit sinu billiu, eddo ih imo ti banin werdan.
55 Doh maht du nu aodlihho, ibu dir din ellen taoc
in sus heremo man hrusti giwinnan
rauba bi*r*ahanen, ibu du dar enic reht habes.
Der si doh nu argosto (quad Hiltibrant) ostarliuto,

36. MS. *Hadubraht gimalta.* 45. MS. *Hiltibraht.*
57. MS. *bihrahanen.*

37-8. There is perhaps a parallel to this passage in the Chronicon Novaliciense, III. 22, 23, where Algisus, when offered rings on the point of a spear, refuses to trust himself within reach of it, exclaiming: *Si tu cum lancea ea mihi porrigis, et ego ea cum lancea excipio*; cf. too Egilssaga, c. LV.

39. Cf. Heliand, v. 1376: *spanan mid is spracu.*

41. For the sequence of ideas, cf. þiðriks saga, c. 400 (Bertelsen, II. 338): *hann hæfir sig flutt fram allan sinn aldr med sæmð oc drengskap oc sua er hann gamall orðinn.*

42. Cf. Beowulf, v. 377: *þone sægdon þæt sæliðende.*

43. *Wentilsęo*, "the Vandal Sea," "Mediterranean," a reminiscence of the days of Gaiseric (428–477), when the Vandal fleet terrorised the Mediterranean; cf. AS. *Wendelsæ* in Elene, v. 231, Alfred's translation of Orosius, etc.

dat inan wic furnam: cf. Beowulf, v. 1080: *wig ealle fornam Finnes þegnas.*

46 ff. Cf. Beowulf, v. 1484 ff.

48. I.e. "You have not lost your lord's favour."

Hadubrand, the son of Hildebrand, replied: "With the spear should one receive a gift, point to point. Thou art of exceeding guile, old Hun. Thou seekest to decoy me with thy words and wilt aim thy spear at me. Thou hast grown old in the practice of treachery. Seafarers who went westwards over the Vandal Sea, have told me that he fell in battle. Dead is Hildebrand, the son of Heribrand."

Then spake Hildebrand, the son of Heribrand.

• • • • •

"By thy garb I see full well that thou hast a generous lord at home; thou art no outcast in this land."

"Woe now is me, Almighty God," quoth Hildebrand. "An evil fate is come upon me. Sixty summers and winters have I wandered in exile from my native land and I was ever stationed in the forefront of the host: yet no man dealt me my deathblow before any stronghold. But now mine own son will smite me with his sword, slay me with his brand, or I must be his slayer. Yet now if thy prowess avail thee, thou canst easily win the harness of so old a man, carry off the spoils, if thou hast any right to them. Now were he the craven of the easterners who

49 *waltant got*: cf. AS *wealdend god*, OS *waldand god*.

50 *sehstic*, i.e. 30 summers and 30 winters, a relic of the counting by seasons (*misseri*). It is worth noting that Wolf-Dietrich was likewise in exile for 30 years; cf. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 153.

In Þiðriks saga, c. 396 (Bertelsen, II. 331), the exile lasted 32 years.

51. *sceotantero*, simply "warriors"; cf. Beowulf, v. 1155, etc.

52 *banun ni gifasta*; cf. Elene, v. 477:

Ne meahton hie swa disige deað oðfæstan.

53 *suasat*, "own"; cf. AS *swæs*, and Ásmundarsaga Kappabana, c. ix.

Liggr þar inn svási sonr at höfði.

54. *breton mit sinu billiu*, wk vb, cf. AS. *breodwian* (Müllenhoff). For the phrase, cf. Exodus, v. 199 *billum abreotan*.

eddo ih imo ti banin werdan; cf. Heliand, v. 644:

hogda im te banin uuerðon,

and Beowulf, v. 587:

þeah ðu þinum broðrum to banan wurde.

55 *ibu dir din ellen taoc*, a common phrase in the poetic diction of the old Teutonic languages; cf. Andreas, v. 460 *gif his ellen deah*, etc.

56. Cf. Waldhere, B 17

57. *ibu du dar enic reht habes*, either "if you can make good your claim" or "if you have justice on your side."

58 *ostarliuto*, Huns rather than Ostrogoths, cf. Ásmundar saga, where Hildibrandr is styled *Húnakappi*

der dir nu wiges warne, nu dih es so wel lustit,
60 gudea gimeinun: niuse de motti,
[*h*]werdar sih hiutu dero hregilo *r*umen muotti,
erdo desero brunnono bedero uualtan."
Do lęttun se ærist asckim scritan,
scarpen scurim, dat in dem sciltim stont.
65 Do stopu*n* tosàmane, †staimbort† chlu*b*un,
heuwun harmlicco huittę scilti,
unti im iro lintun luttilo wurtun,
giwigan miti wabnu*m*.......

61. MS. *werdar sih dero hiutu, hrumen.* 65. MS. *stoptū, staim bort chludun.*

59. *nu dih es so wel lustit*; cf. Otfrid, I. 1. 14; *so thih es uuola lustit.*
60. *gudea gimeinun*; cf. Beowulf, v. 2473: *wroht gemæne.*
niuse de motti; cf. Heliand, v. 224: *he niate ef he môti*; Beowulf, v. 1387: *wyrce se þe mote.*
61. MS. *werdar* for *hwedar* (AS. *hwæðer*).
A parallel to this passage is to be found in Þiðriks saga, c. 19 (Bertelsen, I. 19): *og bere sa i brott hrarutreggia er meiri madur er og frælnare verdur þa er reynt er* (Kögel).
63. Klaeber, *M. L. N.* XXI. 110 ff., compares Layamon's Brut, vv. 28322 ff.:

Summe heo letten ut of scipen
Scerpe garen scriþen,

and emends *asckim* to *ascki*; but the dat. is not absolutely impossible if taken in the sense of "let fly with spears."

should refuse thee the combat, the duel, since thy heart is set upon it. Let him find out who can which of us this day is doomed to be stripped of his panoply or to win possession of both these corselets."

Then first they launched their spears, their sharp weapons, so that the shields were pierced. Then they strode together, they clove the......bucklers shrewdly smiting at the white targets until their linden shields, destroyed by the weapons, were of none avail.

64. *scarpen scurim* (for *scurun* perhaps by analogy with *asckim*) in apposition to *asckim*; cf. Heliand, v. 5137:

that man ina witnddi wâpnes eggiun,
skarpun skurun,

[illegible]

from grave-finds of the period, and the only literary evidence, Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, IX. 28, is not perhaps very valuable, though for later times there is abundant evidence; cf. Nibelungenlied, str 1610, 2149; Egilssaga, c. LXXVIII.

68 Cf. Maldon, v. 228: *forwegen mid his wæpne.*

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INDEX OF NAMES

MENTIONED IN THE POEMS

Wa, Wb=Waldhere A and B. AS, N, I=Anglo-Saxon, Norwegian and Icelandic Runic Poems. F=Finn. D=Deor. H=Hildebrand.

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